EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. XX (1929 - 30)





PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001
1983

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Vol. XX. 1929-30.



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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
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Reprinted 1983

Price : Rs. 40.00

Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33 Kirti Nagar Industrial Area New Delhi-110015.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XX. 1929-30.

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DELHI: MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS
1933

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 7, l. 26.—*For* Kasmīra *read* Kasmira.
„ 15, l. 7 of G.—*For* Bhaṭidēvā *read* Bhaṭidevā.
„ 22, l. 26.—*For* mahāvi[hā*]re *read* Mahāvi[hā*]re.
„ 23, l. 11.—*For* Taṁbapaṁṇa *read* Taṁbapaṁṇi.
„ 32, l. 38 —*For* (G. l. 12) *read* (H. l. 12).
„ 35, l. 17.—*For* Aśoka *read* Aśōka.
„ „ penultimate line.—*For China read Chīna.*
„ 36, l. 17.—*For* Naharāḷḷabōḍu *read* Nāharāḷḷabōḍu.
„ 39, l. 8.—*For* **he** *read* **the.**
„ 44, f.n. 3.—*For* hould *read* should.
„ 45, penultimate line in translation of Verse 1.—*For* fishes (*engraved*) *read makaras* (*wrough*)
(suggested by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.—ed.).
„ „ l. 2. in translation of Vv. 4-6.—*For* asif *read* as if
„ „ l. 3 „ „ V. 9.—*For* coplous *read* copious.
„ 47, l. 35.—*For* Parāntak n *read* Parāntakaṉ.
„ 48, l. 25.—*For* latter *read* later.
„ „ l. 36.—*For* Vēlūrapāḷaiyam *read* Vēlūrpāḷaiyam.
„ „ l. 2 of f. n. 5.—*Insert* (before Stambha).
„ 49, l. 6.—*Insert* [4] after Aparājita.
„ „ f. n. 5.—*For* Tillasthānam *read* Tillaisthānam.
„ 50, col. 4 in the table.—*For* Prithvīpati I *read* Pṛithvīpati I.
„ „ l. 1 of f. n. 3.—*For* Varaguna *read* Varaguṇa.
„ 51, penultimate line of the letterpress.—*For* Iḷamperuṅgāy- *read* Iḷamperuṅkāy-.
„ 53, l. 5 of translation.—*For* th esun *read* the sun,
„ „ l. 5 of text of C.—*For* 1-ppoṉ *read* i-ppoṉ.
„ 56, l. 29.—*For* writer *read* writers.
„ 58, l. 30.—*For* karamısra *read* karamiśra.
„ 61, l. 2 of f. n. 5.—*For* Nātha-śarmmā *read* Nāthaśarmma.
„ 63, f. n. 7.—*For mahīmatāṁ read mahimatāṁ.* •
„ 65, l. 10.—*For* Gōvinda-Bhatta *read* Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa.
„ 66, l. 20.—*Omit* be.
„ „ f. n. 1.—*For* Hebbal *read* Hebbāḷ.
„ „ f. n. 6.—*For* elonged *read* belonged.
„ 67, text l. 24.—*For* bhatta- *read* bhaṭṭa-.
„ 68, text l. 43.—*For* mukkyarggaṁ *read* mukhyarggaṁ.
„ 69, f. n. 4.—*For* साधयेद्विजितेंद्रय: *read* साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रिय:
„ 70, l. 2 of translation of Ll. 46-48.—*For* Vāranāsi *read* Vāraṇāśi.
„ 79, text line 6.—*For* Rāja=s[u]ya[ṁ] *read* Rājas[ū]ya[ṁ].
„ 83, l. 2.—*For* Kaliṅgapatanam *read* Kaliṅgapaṭanam.
„ 86, f. n. 5 l. 3.—*For* Bhattoji *read* Bhaṭṭōji.
„ 87, f. n. 11.—*For* Fori nstance *read* For instance.

Page 88, f. n. 6.—*For* D. P. J. *read* K. P. J.

,, 89, l. 5 of translation of l. 15.—*For* **Sindhuḷa** *read* **Sindhuḷā.**

,, 90, f. n. 2.—*For* Vīramitrōdaya *read Vīramitrōdaya.*

,, 91, l. 6.—*For Yaśōdharachariyā read Yaśōdharachariya.*

,, 92, l. 16.—*For* Girnar *read* Girnār.

,, 95, translation of Ll. 19 ff.—*For Paramēśvara read Rājaparamēśvara.*

,, 96, ,, 28 ff.—*For Kāṇūr- read* Kāṇūr-.

,, 97, l. 2.—*Insert* a comma *after* Saṁkara-seṭṭi.

,, 99, text l. 7.—*For* षष्टादश्वैं° *read* षष्टादश्वे(वै)°.

,, ,, text l. 11.—*For* देसुवके *read* देसुवक

,, 102, text l. 25.—*For* Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li- *read* Dakhi(kshi)ṇapa(pā)li-.

,, 103, text l. 41.—*For* Bhu(Bhū)mi -*read* bhu(bhū)mi-.

,, ,, text l. 42.—*For* -saṁkā *read* -śaṅkā.

,, 104, text l. 45.—*For* Hara[n*]= *read* hara[n*]=.

,, ,, f. n. 13.—*For utkirṇṇaṁ° read utkīrṇṇaṁ°.*

,, 110, l. 5.—*For* Yogēśvara- *read* Yōgēśvara-.

,, 112, l. 32.—*For* Vira-Pāṇḍya *read* Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XX.

1.—PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA.

By Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., Leiden.

In March 1926 Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras, made a discovery of great interest at the hill of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which belongs to the Palnāḍ *taluk* of the Guṇṭūr district of the Madras Presidency.[1] The hill, which is described as a big flat-topped hill some 200 acres in extent, overhangs the right bank of the river Kistna or Kṛishṇā, the Kaṇṇapeṇṇā or Kaṇṇavaṇṇā (Skt. *Krishṇavarṇā*) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Mācherla and on the border of the Nizam's Dominions. The top of the hill shows traces of fortifications, now in ruins. The find of a Buddhist sculpture led to the discovery of three vast mounds of large bricks in different parts of the valley, each, apparently, marking the site of a *stūpa*. In the vicinity of these mounds marble pillars were found, some of them standing erect in rows. Several more were reported to lie scattered in the neighbouring villages and on the other side of the river. Among the pillars left on the site there were three, one on each mound, bearing inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmī characters.

At the request of Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Government Epigraphist, I undertook to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica.* A set of excellent estampages prepared under instructions from that officer, reached me in September 1926; but it was not until the end of that year that I could find the necessary leisure to decipher and study them. Early in March 1927, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī informed me that trial excavations carried out on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi, then officiating as Superintendent of Archæology in the Southern Circle, had yielded no less than eighteen more inscriptions and that their estampages would be sent to my address, in case I should be willing to edit them. I gladly consented to undertake this laborious but attractive task. As, however, there was a likelihood of the recently discovered inscriptions being of some help in elucidating doubtful points in those found previously, I suggested that the epigraphical finds of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa might be best dealt with in one article. Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī accepted this proposal and in October 1927 supplied me with a complete set of estampages admirably executed.

During the cold season of 1927-28 the excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were continued under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Southern Circle. These explorations have resulted in the discovery of a number of very remarkable Buddhist sculptures, some of them bearing inscriptions. The style which they exhibit is clearly that of

[1] A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1926*, Madras, pp. 4 and 92 f. *Cf.* also *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1926*, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14-16.

Amarâvatî, although perhaps they cannot boast of the high artistic merit which we admire in the best work from that place. Among the sculptural decoration of the two pillars discovered by Mr. Longhurst there are figures which clearly betray Roman influence. The full report of his excavations will be received with the greatest interest. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa represents, next to Amarāvatī, the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in Southern India. The results which Amarāvatī might have yielded have, for a large part, been irreparably lost owing to the deplorable vandalism perpetrated on that monument more than a century ago. It is all the more gratifying that the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is now being systematically explored so that no piece of evidence is likely to be overlooked. Mr. Longhurst estimates that the complete excavation of the site will require three years more.

When in February 1882 Dr. Burgess excavated the site of the Jaggayyapeṭa *stūpa*, on the Pālēr river, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā and about four miles north of their junction, he chanced upon three inscribed pillars, bearing each an identical dedicatory inscription in Prakrit.[1] These epigraphs record the gift of five *āyaka-khaṁbhas* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya or Great Chaitya by a certain artisan (*āvesani*) Siddhattha in the twentieth year of King Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the Ikhāku dynasty. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be Māṭharīputra Śrī-Vīrapurushadatta. Dr. Burgess expressed the opinion that the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions " belong to about the third or fourth century A.D., but are possibly earlier." Dr. Bühler[2], while editing them, placed the reign of King Purisadata in the third century of our era, and " before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi."

The position of such *āyaka*-pillars on the monument to which they once have belonged becomes perfectly clear from the *chaitya*-slabs which have been found in such remarkable numbers on the site of Amarāvatī. These *chaitya*-slabs exhibit the effigy in relief of a *chaitya* or *stūpa* in all its details, in other words, they represent the great monument which they once adorned. Now, one of the most prominent features of the main edifice—a feature not met with, as far as we are aware, in other parts of India—is a row of five columns surmounting a kind of projecting balcony which seems to form part of the procession-path running around the body of the monument. These pillars invariably occupy a position right opposite the entrances to the sacred enclosure, and as the stone railing surrounding the sanctuary has an entrance on each of the four cardinal points, it follows that the monument, when entire, must have had four sets of such pillars. They do not appear to have had any structural function as supporting members, but, besides carrying well-known Buddhist emblems, they were utilised for dedicatory inscriptions, as have been noticed at Jaggayyapeṭa. The word *āyaka-khaṁbha* mentioned in these epigraphs is evidently the technical term by which they were known[3].

There can be little doubt that the great *stūpa* of Amarāvatī, when entire, was decorated with such pillars, but only a few fragments have been recovered.[4] In the case of the monument of

[1] J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*; London, 1887, pp. 110 f., plates LXII and LXIII. *Cf.* H. Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1202-1204 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, app., pp. 139 f.); G. Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 44.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 256 ff.

[3] The word *āyaka* occurs also in the compounds *dakhin-āyaka* (Burgess, *Amaravati, etc.*, p. 86, pl. LX, no. 47) and *utar-āyaka* (*ibidem*, p. 93), which have been rendered " the south entrance " and " the northern gate". It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word " gate " is rendered by *dāra* (Skt. *dvāra*). Most probably the word *āyaka* indicates that part of the monument where the *āyaka-khambhas* were placed.

[4] Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, 1-4. The finest specimen is the square lower end of a pillar decorated on the four sides with as many Buddhist symbols—a *stūpa*, a *bōdhi*-tree, a *chaitya*-hall, and a wheel. There is an inscription in four lines beneath the figure of the *stūpa* (pl. LX, no. 47) in which the pillar is called *chetiya-kha* [*m*]-*bho sadhāduko*.

Jaggayyapeṭa three inscribed specimens were found, only one of them being complete. These, as we have seen, must have belonged to a set of five such pillars which were placed on the east side. Dr. Burgess noticed large pillars or stelæ at three of the sides of the *stūpa*, but it would seem that those found on the other sides were uninscribed.

The explorations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa have brought to light no less than seventeen specimens of *āyaka*-pillars, all inscribed. In thirteen cases the inscription is complete or nearly so. The technical execution of these epigraphs is as remarkable as the state of their preservation. Evidently, these pillars once served the purpose of adorning the main monument of the site, mentioned in the inscriptions under the name of Mahāchetiya (Skt. *Mahāchaitya*), *i.e.*, the Great Chaitya. It is clear that here, too, there must have stood a row of five such pillars at each of the four cardinal points, their total number being twenty. The original position which each of the seventeen columns so far recovered once occupied, could still be ascertained. A complete list of the inscriptions will be given below.

The mound which covered the ruins of the Mahāchetiya is nowadays known by the name of Nibaguṭṭa. Close to the east side of the great monument the excavations revealed the remains of an apsidal temple containing a small *chaitya* as an object of worship. The floor of this shrine retains the record of its foundation in an inscription (E) of two very long lines, remarkably well preserved.

At a distance of about a furlong to the east of the Great Chaitya there is another mound called Nāharāḷḷabōḍu. According to Mr. Longhurst, this site contains the most important group of monastic buildings, including a large monastery built of brick and plaster, and the remains of two *stūpas*. At the side of the former building were found the remnants of another apsidal shrine or *chaitya*-hall. Here, too, a long inscription (F), incised on the floor of the temple, was found to be the record of its foundation.

There is a third mound known by the name of Iṭikarāḷḷabōḍu to the north-west of the Great Chaitya and at a distance of about two furlongs from it. Here a number of stone pillars, apparently still occupying their original position, indicate the existence of another ancient building. From the inscription (G) found on one of these pillars (this inscription is one of the three recovered in March 1926), it appears that the edifice in question was a *vihāra* somewhat later in date than the buildings previously noticed. If this conclusion is correct, the stone pillars may have formed part of the verandah enclosing the central court-yard of the convent.

A third *vihāra* must have stood in a locality now known as Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Here, too, the record of its foundation is inscribed on a stone pillar. The inscription (H), which is one of the three copied in March 1926, is probably the latest in date, the writing being smaller and less distinct than in the case of the earlier inscriptions.

The Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions, as we have noted above, are dated in the twentieth year of the reign of a king who calls himself Māḍharīputa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Virapurisadata. The epigraphical records now recovered on the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa refer to the same Ikhāku dynasty of Southern India. They mention not only Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata,[1] in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of this locality were founded, but also his father, Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Chāṁtamūla, and his son and successor Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla.[2] In a passage which occurs in several of the inscriptions, the former is eulogized as a performer of the

[1] This is the usual spelling of the name. The more correct form Siri-Vīrapurisadata occurs in inscr. G.

[2] It is somewhat difficult to decide whether Chāṁtamūla or Chātamūla is the correct form of these two names. In some cases there appears to be the sign of the *anusvāra* over the *ā*. We may, therefore, assume, that elsewhere it has been omitted by mistake.

Vedic sacrifices Agnihōtra, Agnishṭōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha. It follows that Siri-Chāṁtamūla was a devotee of Brahmanism. His son, Siri-Virapurisadata, though partaking in the religious merit, does not seem to have had an active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhāku and evidently devotees of the Buddhist faith.

The principal founder was a lady called Chāṁtisiri [1] (°siriṇikā in inscr. B 3) who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions. In these inscriptions she is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāṁtamūla and the paternal aunt of Siri-Virapurisadata. She was married to the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Kaṁdasiri of the Pūkiya [2] family, and, in consequence, she herself bears the title of *Mahātalavarī*. Moreover, she is called the mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka. In one of the pillar inscriptions (B 5) it is distinctly stated that it was she who erected the Great Chaitya of the Great *Vihāra* or Monastery. It is curious that here the instrumental plural (*mahātalavarihi......Chāṁtisiriṇikāhi*) is employed, but it will be noted that several ladies of that name took part in the donation. Or, can it be a *pluralis majestatis* ? The date regularly found at the end of the pillar inscriptions—the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season, the tenth day—marks, no doubt, the time when the great monument was consecrated. Chāṁtisiri was, moreover, the foundress of the apsidal shrine (No. I), built opposite the eastern or principal side of the Great Chaitya.[3] This is distinctly stated in the long inscription (E) cut on the floor of that building. In this document the edifice founded by Chāṁtisiri is designated first as a *chetiya-ghara*, and subsequently as a stone *maṇḍapa* surrounded by a cloister (*chatusāla-parigahitaṁ sela-maṁṭavaṁ*).[4] The building was dedicated to the *āchāryas* of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. The time of the dedication is expressed by the date found at the end of the inscription—the eighteenth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of winter, the fifth day. The date is given both in words and in figures.

It deserves notice that in the earlier inscriptions Chāṁtisiri is called the paternal aunt (*pituchhā*)[5] of the reigning king, whereas in the later inscription (E), noted above, she refers to the king as her son-in-law. It would seem that Siri-Virapurisadata between the 6th and the 18th years of his reign had married the daughter of his aunt and consequently his cousin.

Two of the pillar inscriptions (C 2 and 4) mention another sister (*sōdarā bhaginī*) of King Siri-Chāṁtamūla, whose name was Haṁmasiri or Haṁmasiriṇikā, and two of her daughters named Bapisiriṇikā and Chhaṭhisiri. Both these princesses were married to the reigning king, their cousin, and consequently bear the title of *Mahādēvī*.

The same title of *Mahādēvī* is borne by a lady, Rudradharabhaṭārikā, whose name occurs in the inscription on the fifth pillar of the southern row (B 5). It may be concluded that she, too, was a consort of the reigning king, though in the inscription she is not expressly designated as such. She appears to have been a princess from Ujjain (Skt. Ujjayinī), the well known town in Central India, if at least we are justified in correcting the reading *Ujanikā mahārabalikā* of the text into *Ujenikā mahārāja-bālikā*. Among the rulers of the house of Chashṭana, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, whose capital was Ujjain, we find a certain preference for personal names containing the name of the god Rudra, such as Rudradāman, Rudrasēna and Rudrasiṁha. This renders it

[1] Here, too, there prevails some uncertainty whether the name is Chāṁtisiri or Chātisiri.

[2] Inscr. E has *Pūgiya*.

[3] The eastern side being the principal side of the Great Chaitya, it is significant that the three *āyaka*-pillars recovered on that side of the monument were all dedicated by Chāṁtisiri.

[4] In Sanskrit : *chatuḥśāla-parigrihītaṁ śaila-maṇḍapam*.

[5] Pali *pituchchhā*.

all the more plausible to assume that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house.

The pillar inscriptions acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāṁtisiri in her pious foundation. The one mentioned on the second pillar of the south side (B 2) is called Aḍavi (?)-Chā[ṁ]tisiri. The inscription calls her the daughter of King Siri-Chāṁtamūla, the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, and the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇaka (= Skt. Skandaviśākha) of the house of the Dhanakas. She herself is distinguished by the title of *Mahātalavarī*.

The other lady, who was the donor of the fourth pillar of the southern row (B 4), is called Chula-Chā[ṁ]tisiriṇikā, *i.e.*, Chā[ṁ]tisiriṇikā the Less or the Younger, the adjective *chula* evidently being added to distinguish her from her namesake, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya. The junior Chā[ṁ]tisiriṇikā, as stated in the inscription, was a daughter of the Kulahakas and the spouse of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka of the Hiraṁñakas. She herself bears the title of *Mahāsēnāpatini*.

The fifth pillar of the western side (C 5) was dedicated by a lady whose personal name is not mentioned, but who is called the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsithīputa Mahākaṁdasiri of the Pūkīyas and the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Viṇhusiri (=Skt. Vishṇuśrī). She is, moreover, distinguished by the title *Mahātalavarī*. If we may assume that Mahākaṁdasiri and Kaṁdasiri are one and the same person, it would follow that the anonymous lady of the pillar-inscription C 5 was a co-wife (*sapatnī*) of Chāṁtisiri.

We must now consider the two separate pillar-inscriptions G and H which, as we have noted above, must belong to a somewhat later date. The inscription G is found on one among a number of pillars, decorated with lotus-rosettes, which were found standing about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. Mr. Longhurst informs me that the tops of these pillars are each provided with a mortice evidently meant to receive the beams of a wooden roof. This would well agree with our supposition that these stone columns once belonged to the verandah enclosing the central court of the *vihāra*. The inscribed stone shows several cracks running through the inscribed surface and the letters are worn owing to exposure.

The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭidevā who is called the daughter-in-law of Siri-Chā[ṁ]tamūla, the wife (?) of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the mother of a *Mahārāja*, whose name appears to be Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla. The three syllables which we read—*havuḷa*—are uncertain. The same is the case with the one or two initial syllables of the word following the name Siri-Virapurisadata, so that it is doubtful what relation existed between that king and the lady Bhaṭidevā. The word in question, however, can be hardly anything but *bhayāya*. Thus it would follow that Bhaṭidevā was the consort of the king. The last two lines of the document seem to have contained a date, but unfortunately this part of the inscription has been obliterated to such an extent that our reading must be regarded as conjectural. Evidently the *vihāra* was founded during the reign of Bhatidevā's son, the *Mahārāja* whose name is mentioned in the inscription.

The inscribed pillar of Koṭṭampalugu is also the foundation record of a *vihāra*. The foundress was a *Mahādēvī* who was the granddaughter of Siri-Chā[ṁ]tamūla, the daughter of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the sister of *Mahārāja* Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chā[ṁ]tamūla. It is, moreover, stated in the inscription that she was the consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa. Her personal name is somewhat indistinct but may be read as Kodabalisiri. It will be noted in the sequel that Vanavāsa, the ancient name of North Kanara, occurs also among the countries which in the *chaitya*-inscription F are stated to have been converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese monks.

The pillar inscription of Koṭṭampalugu is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chā[ṁ]tamūla.

The historical information furnished by these inscriptions regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikhāku dynasty, whom they mention, is very meagre. Siri-Chāṁtamūla is extolled in a passage which recurs in several of the inscriptions but which appears to be entirely conventional. It has been pointed out above that the king must have been an adept of Brahmanism. From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa*, which is applied to Chāṁtamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsēna or Skanda, "the lord of the Virūpakhas". The term Virūpakha (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader.[1] Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence, that Siri-Virapurisadata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct.

Although the inscriptions tell us nothing about the *faits et gestes* of these kings, it is interesting to meet with a line of rulers, settled in the Telugu country, which claimed descent from Ikhāku, *i.e.*, Ikkhāku (=Skt. *Ikshvāku*), the mythical progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā. It is well known that not only Rāma belonged to that illustrious house, but the Buddha, too, is called a scion of the race of Ikshvāku (Pali *Okkāka*). It is clear, in any case, that these Southern Ikhākus were rulers of some importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the *Mahārājas* of Vanavāsa, but also with the kings, presumably the descendants of the Satrap Chashṭana, who resided at Ujjayinī in Central India. The nomenclature of these Southern Ikhāku kings, coupling their personal names with metronymics like Māḍharīputa and Vāsiṭhīputa seems to be a practice borrowed from the earlier rulers of the Āndhra dynasty. It will hardly be necessary to quote the instance of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāyi and Gotamīputa Sātakaṇṇi. On the other hand, there are in these inscriptions certain expressions which are also found in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas, as will be pointed out in our glossary.

There are two more points to be noted in connection with these kings. We see that the name Chāṁtamūla, borne by the father of Siri-Virapurisadata, re-occurs in the name of the latter's son. This seems to point to the custom of naming a child after its grandfather, which, as far as we are aware, is not an indigenous practice in India.[2] It further deserves notice that among the consorts of king Siri-Virapurisadata we meet with two of his cousins.

Chāṁtisiri, the sister of king Chāṁtamūla, was married to a personage who bore the titles of *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātalavara*. The same is stated with reference to other princesses of the ruling house. The title *Mahāsēnāpati* (lit. " great chief of the army " or general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāshṭras* or districts under the Āndhras, and the same meaning may perhaps be assumed here. The word is, therefore, to be taken as a title of nobility. We may compare the Anglo-Saxon *heretoga* (Dutch *hertog*, German *herzog*), which etymologically means an army-leader, but has become a title of nobility. The word *mahāsēnāpati* could, therefore, be best rendered by " duke."

The curious term *mahātalavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India, must likewise denote a high dignitary whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some

[1] The word *Virūpakha* (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*), indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm, *Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, p. 110; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

[2] [This custom was known to several ruling families of ancient India, such as the Gupta, the Vākāṭaka, the Chālukya and the Pallava. (*Cf.* V. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 125). Besides, as shown by the *Mahābhāshya*. I. i. 1. ...त्रिपुरुषानूकं...नाम प्रातं कुर्यात् and Kaiyyaṭa on it °पिता तस्य ये वधः पुरुषास्तानानुकार्यत्वमिष्यते°, it had a śāstraic sanction behind it.—Ed.]

Dravidian language.[1] Evidently it penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which, coupled with *mahāpratīhāra* (="a great chamberlain") is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basāṛh, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarika*, which occurs in lists of officials in mediæval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara*.[2]

In the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa not only frequent mention is made of persons bearing the title of *mahātalavara*, but they also contain the feminine form *mahātalavari* (more correctly °*talavarī*) indicating the wife of a *mahātalavara*. In the same way the consort of a *mahāsēnāpati* bears herself the title of *mahāsenāpatini* (Skt. °*sēnāpatnī*). It is found in B 4 (1.5).

A third official title, which occurs in B 2 (1.4), is the well-known term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. The early use of this expression is also attested by a fragmentary inscription, found at the village of Māṭ in the Mathurā district, which contains the name of King Huvishka.

The first apsidal shrine (No. I), as we have seen, was dedicated by Chāṁtisiri, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya, at the foot of which it is built. The other building of this type, on the contrary, as stated in the inscription F on the floor, was raised by a simple *upāsikā*, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikhākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. They include a *Koṭh[ā]kārika* (Skt. *Kōshṭhāgārika*), either a treasurer or, perhaps, a superintendent of a royal store-house.[3]

The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Next comes the date which unfortunately is incomplete. This much is certain that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king Māḍharīputa, who in all likelihood is identical with the Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions of Jaggayyapeṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmira (Kashmir), Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṁta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṁga (*i.e.*, Bengal), Vanavāsi (*i.e.*, North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?), . . lūra and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (*i.e.*, Ceylon). Some of the countries are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* among the territories which had been converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, namely, Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparantaka and Yona.[4] We may also compare two passages in the *Milindapañha* mentioning a number of

[1] At the end of the Koṇḍamuḍi copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.) the late Dr. Hultzsch read *Mahātagi-varena mahādaṁḍanāyakena Bhāpahānavaṁmena kaṭati*. There can be little doubt that *mahātagivarena* is a mistake, due either to the scribe or to the engraver, for *mahātalavarena*. This term occurs also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription found at the village of Allūru, in the Nandigāma *taluk*, Kistna district. *Cf. Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 and *A. S. R.* for 1923-24, p. 93.

We must leave this question to the decision of students of South-Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamiḻ *taḷavāy* (=a general), Tamiḻ *talaiyāri* (=a village watchman), or Canarese *taḷavara*, *taḷavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)? [The Mahātalavaras are mentioned in early Jaina literature along with 18 Gaṇarājas. So Mahātalavara must be taken as a title of nobility. *Cf. Kalpasūtra* (ed. Jacobi, Leipzig 1879) 61, ll. 21-25. The *Subōdhikā*, a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vinayavijaya (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, leaf 60, ll. 6-7) explains the term *talavara* thus: *talavarāḥ tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭabaṁdha-vibhūshitā Rājasthānīyāḥ*. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of high class Khatris (= Sanskrit *Kshatriyas*) which goes by the name of Tālwār.—Ed.]

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, p. 108, No. 16 ; plate XL, 6.

[3] *Cf. koṭhagala* in Sohgaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937) and *bhaṁḍākārika* in Nāsik inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1141).

[4] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. xii. *Cf. Dīpavaṁsa*, Ch viii

regions which used to be visited for purposes of trade.[1] In these two passages the first countries mentioned are Saka-Yavana and Chīna-Chilāta. The printed text has Vilāta, but, as has been pointed out by Professor Sylvain Lévi,[2] this is an error for Chilāta. The Chilātas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kirāta. In a well-known verse of the *Pañchatantra* they are characterized as dishonest traders. We find them, moreover, referred to both in the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. The former says : " Beyond this [Dōsarēnē], the course trending towards the north there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadæ, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage." Ptolemy locates them along the Gulf of Bengal, " beyond the Ganges mouth called Antibolei." Their country is said to produce the best *malabathron* (*tamālapattram*). In his chapter on Trans-Gangetic India (VII, 2, 15) the same author describes the Tiládai (V. 1. Piládai), also called the Saesádai, as hairy dwarfs, with a flat face and a white skin. Evidently this passage too refers to the Kirātas, the name Tiládai (Τιλάδαι) being an attempt to render in Greek the alternative form Chilāda.[3]

It is very interesting to meet here with the name Tosali. It will be remembered that Aśōka's two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*Mahāmātras*) of Tosali. This enables us to locate Tosali in Kaliṅga. James Prinsep identified it with the " Tosalei metropolis " of Ptolemy, although this place is located in the regions beyond the Ganges. We may, perhaps, connect the name Tosali with the Dōsara of Ptolemy and with Dōsarēnē, the name of a country beyond Masalia mentioned in the *Periplus*. The name Dōsarēnē is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit Daśārṇa,[4] but there are serious difficulties in the way of this identification. First of all, a Prakrit form of Daśārṇa, from which the Greek form must be derived, would certainly not have retained the *r* which we find in Dōsara and Dōsarēnē. The long ō-vowel of the Greek would also be difficult to account for. Besides, the tribe of the Daśārṇa, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India and not along the coast.[5] On the other hand, Dōsara may have been a dialectic form of Tosala. The *Periplus* states that Dōsarēnē yielded the ivory known as Dōsarēnic. Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Kaliṅga says that it produced the great tawny wild elephant which was much prized by neighbouring provinces.

Avaranta (Skt. Aparānta) is the designation of the tract of the country lying along the western coast of the Peninsula, the capital of which was Sopārā. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, it was converted to Buddhism by Dhammarakkhita. Aśōka mentions it in his Fifth Rock-Edict in connection with the appointment of Dhaṁma-mahāmātas.

Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal. Vanavāsi, also mentioned as Vanavāsaka in inscription H, is North Kanara, the name being still preserved in Banavāsi, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State in latitude 14° 33′, longitude 75° 5′. The *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions Rakkhita as the apostle of Vanavāsa.

The three words following Vanavāsi are uncertain. The first one can be hardly anything but Yavana, the *aksharas ya* and *va* being still legible. Next comes a name which I read tentatively as Damila, meaning the Tamil country. The third word seems to consist of three *aksharas*, the second and third of which are clearly *lu* and *ra*. It is tempting to restore the name as Palura, the town mentioned by Ptolemy and identified by Professor Sylvain Lévi with Dantapura, " the Town of the Tooth " on the coast of Orissa.[6]

[1] *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 327 and 331.

[2] *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II, p. 24.

[3] Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. *Cf. Bijdragen*, sixth series, Vol. VI, p. 7, no. 2.

[4] *Periplus*, transl. by W. H. Schoff, p. 253, and N. L. Dey, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd ed., 1927, p. 54, *s. v. Daśārṇa*.

[5] Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* locates the Daśārṇas between the Vindhya and Vidiśā.

[6] *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCVI (1925), pp. 46ff. ; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV (1926), pp. 94ff.

The latter part of inscription F enumerates the various pious foundations—several of them evidently additions to existing buildings—dedicated by Bodhisiri, and mentions, moreover, the localities at which each of them was found. It is a point of considerable importance that this list includes "a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at Kaṇṭakasela." Evidently this locality Kaṇṭakasela (Skt. *Kaṇṭakaśaila*, lit. "Thorn-hill") must be identical with "the emporium Kantikossúla" which Ptolemy mentions (VII, I. 15) immediately after "the mouths of the Maisōlos." It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos has been rightly supposed to be the Kistna.[1] The country watered by the lower Kistna is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* speaks (§62) of "the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country," and adds that "a great quantity of muslins is made here." The ancient name by which this part of Southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the town Masulipatam.

We are perhaps justified in identifying it with the country which Hiuen Tsiang describes under the name of T'o-na-kie-tse-kia.[2] This seems to correspond to Dhaññakataka, Dhanakaṭaka (Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka), found in two inscriptions from Amarāvatī.[3] The country in question the Chinese pilgrim locates between the Āndhra country and that of the Chōḷas, the latter being situated at a distance of some 1,000 *li* to the south-west. In the course of his description he says: "The convents are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty with 1,000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle."

Hiuen Tsiang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvaśilā and on a mountain to the west was another, called Avaraśilā. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means "stone." Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the name Puvasela, which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila. A name, meaning "Eastern Mountain or Hill," may, of course, have been used at different places of India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakaṭaka, which archæologists have sought both at Dharanikōta near Amarāvatī and at Bezwāḍā.

Another point of interest is the mention of Siripavata (*i.e.*, Siripavvata) in inscription F. The Prakrit word corresponds to Sanskrit Śrīparvata. Now, there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India.[4] If this convent is the same as the "*vihāra* on the Siripavata to the east of Vijayapurī" of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the Mahāyāna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. We may confidently hope that these and other questions of great import will be finally settled by further systematic excavations.

Among the religious foundations enumerated in F, we wish to draw attention to the two monasteries, called Kulaha-*vihāra* and Sīhaḷa-*vihāra*. The former appears to have owed its existence to the same noble family which is mentioned in one of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions (B 4)

[1] E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1928, p. 116.

[2] *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

[3] Prof. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1225 and 1271. The form *Dhaṁñakaḍa* occurs in the Mayidavōlu copper-plate grant of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman.

[4] W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.

under the name of Kulahaka. The other, if we may judge from its appellation, must have been a convent founded either by a Singhalese or, more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. This "Ceylonese Convent" appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi-tree (Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda = Skt. Bōdhi-vṛiksha-prāsāda) which is, indeed, a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of a Sīhaḷa-*vihāra*, but also the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* to the *theriyas* or "fraternities" of Tambapaṁṇi point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhaññakaṭaka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kaṇṭaka-sela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistna river.

This trade was, no doubt, also largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great *stūpa* of Amarāvatī. Both Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are situated on the right bank of the Kistna, the former being situated at a distance of some 60 miles from the mouth of the river. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa lies considerably higher up the river, the distance between this place and Amarāvatī being another 60 miles as the crow flies, but considerably longer by river. On the opposite side of the river we have Jaggayyapeṭa, containing another monument of the reign of the Ikhākus. The village of Allūru in the Nandigāma *taluk* of the Kistna district has yielded a fragmentary Prakrit inscription, referred to above, which appears to record a donation to a Buddhist monastery. At the village of Gummaḍiduru in the Kistna district the remains of a large *stūpa*, adorned with marble reliefs in the Amarāvatī style, have recently come to light together with the remnants of monastic buildings. All these monuments attest to the piety and the wealth of the Buddhist community in these parts during the second and third centuries of our era. In the days of Hiuen Tsiang the monasteries were mostly deserted and ruined. The collapse of Buddhism on the lower Kistna may have had various causes; besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic agents at work, like the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into the Peninsula. There was also the conquest of Southern India by the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the West.

In connection with Buddhism attention must be drawn to the mention of sect-names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. In Nos. C 1, line 10 and E, line 2, the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit or acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. In both cases the sign for *i* over the fifth *akshara* is quite distinct so that we are not allowed to read *-mahāvana-*, as was done by Drs. Burgess and Hultzsch in the case of an Amarāvatī inscription.[1] The latter was inclined to associate the name with the Mahāvanaśālā at Vaiśālī, well-known from the Buddha legend. The Amarāvatī inscription in question, however, has certainly *Mahāvinaseliyānaṁ*. At the end of the fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūru we read: *ayirāna[ṁ] Puvaseliy[ā]na[ṁ] nigāyasa* (Skt. *āryāṇāṁ Pūrvaśailīyānāṁ nikāyasya*).

The Pali chronicles of Ceylon make mention of the Pubba- and the Apara-selikas, the two sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas.[2] The latter of those two expressions is perhaps an abbreviated form of the Avaramahāvinaseliyas in our inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects,

[1] Burgess, *Amarāvatī*, p. 105, No. 49; and Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 550 f., and XL, p. 344.

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, V, 12, and *Dīpavaṁsa*, V, 54.

known as Pubba- and Apara-selikas, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasela and Aparasela which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhaññakaṭaka ?

The inscription G, line 8, contains the name of another Buddhist sect—Bahusutīya—which corresponds to Pali Bahusuttīya (Skt. Bahuśrutīya). Besides, we have Ayira-haṁgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) in C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 10, and Mahi[sā]saka (Skt. Mahīśāsaka) in H, line 12.

Language and Script.

A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted We find, moreover, that only in one instance it has been considered necessary to correct such an omission, *i.e.*, in the word *Mahāchetiya*(E, line 1) where the *akshara hā* has been placed under the line. In other instances syllables have been repeated (C 2, lines 1 and 3), or interchanged (*e.g.*, *bhaṁkhaṁ* for *khaṁbhaṁ* in C 4, line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Siri-Vīrapurisadata, is written with *vi* instead of *vī* except in a very few cases where we find the co rect spelling with *ī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one, *e.g.*, in *Mahāchetiya*. Considering the frequency of the omission of the *ā*-stroke, we have ventured to assume that this omission has twice taken place in the long compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-kavaṇa-vaṇija-dīn-ā-nugaha-velāmika-dāna-paṭibhāga-vochhina-dhāra-paḍāyini*, which re-occurs several times in the passage relating to the principal donor, Chāṁtisiri. This compound, as far as we can see, does not yield an intelligible sense, unless we read *-dān-āpaṭibhag-āvochhina*, thus assuming that the two adjectives required here are *apaṭibhaga* and *avochhina*. With regard to the latter word we may compare the use of the Sanskrit equivalent *avyavachchhinna* in the following line from the *Harivaṁśa* (verse 3580) where we read : *avyavachchhinna-dhār-aughaiḥ samudr-augha-samair=dhanaiḥ*.

The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for that of *ṭha*, whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between *ṭha* and *tha*. The looped characters *ta* and *na* are very similar and are not always clearly distinguishable. The same is the case with the *aksharas*, the initial *a* and *su*.

The sign for *anusvāra* too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the *akshara* may not be a depression in the surface of the stone merely due to accident. In consequence, there prevails a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to the correct form of the personal names Chāṁtamūla and Chāṁtisiri. In several cases where these names occur, there is no trace of an *anusvāra*, but as in a few instances such a sign can be made out, we are perhaps justified in assuming that its non-occurrence is due to the inadvertence so noticeable throughout these records.

This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a stele by the chief donor, the lady Chāṁtisiri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes. We may refer the reader to the text of C 3 given below with the various readings found in the corresponding inscriptions.

It is difficult to say who is to be held responsible for the negligent treatment which we have noticed in these epigraphs. The additional passage found in two of the pillar inscriptions of Chāṁtisiri, namely C 1 and 2, mentions a " Bhadanta Ānanda, carrier of the *Dīgha-* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* " who acted as the *navakaṁmika* of the Mahāchetiya. In the case of the apsidal temple

and other religious works founded by the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri there were even three *navakammikas*, the *theras* Chaṁdamukha, Dhammanandi and Nāga (F, lines 3 & 4). As the *navakammika* was the monk commissioned by the *Saṅgha* to superintend the foundation (*navakamma*) dedicated by some lay-member, his responsibility may be supposed to have extended also over the inscriptional records of the *deyadhamma*. It is, however, quite possible that the author of the inscriptions was some other learned member of the *Saṅgha*. We may perhaps assume that, the text of the inscriptions having been fixed, some copyist, either a *bhikkhu* or a professional writer, was employed to prepare one or more copies in the very ornamental writing of the period for the use of the stone-mason. At the end of inscription F we find the name of the stone-mason (*sela-vaḍhaki*) Vidhika recorded immediately after those of the three *navakammikas*. It must be admitted that, as regards its technical execution, not only this epigraph but also the sixteen *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions leave nothing to be desired. It is noteworthy that inscription H which, as we saw, must belong to a somewhat later period, shows at once a marked deterioration in technical skill.

With regard to the style of writing used in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions it will suffice to refer to the observations made by Dr. Bühler with regard to the inscriptions from Jaggayyapeṭa.[1] Here we wish only to draw attention to the use of *ḷa* in *Sīhaḷa-*, *taḷākaṁ*, and *aḷaṁdā* in F, line 3, and to the occurrence of the following ligatures: *dra* in *Rudradhara*° (B 5, line 4), *nhā* in *suṁnhānaṁ* (F, line 3), *ṇhu* in *Viṇhusirisa*, *mha* in *bamhaṇa* (A 3, line 6 *etc.*), *mhi* in *imamhi* (A 3, line 2) and *mahāchetiyamhi* (C 4, line 2 and X, line 8), and *tti* in *nattiya* (H, line 8).

The inscriptions contain the numerical symbols for one, three (F, line 1), four (F, line 1), five (E, line 2), six (*passim*), seven (F, line 3 and H, line 4), eight (E, line 2), ten (*passim*), seventy (B 5, line 6), and hundred (B 5, line 6).

As regards the language, the following peculiarities may be noted :—

The *ṛi* vowel is represented by *a* in *kavaṇa* (Skt. *kṛipaṇa*) and *vasabha* (Skt. *vrishabha*), but elsewhere, by *u*. Examples : *bhatuno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhartṛi-* ; *pituno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *pitṛi-* ; *bhātuno* (F, line 3), *bhātunaṁ* (F, line 2) and *bhātuputānaṁ* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhrātṛi-* ; *mātuya* (F, line 2 and G, line 7) from Skt. *mātṛi-* ; *mahāmātukāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *mahāmātṛi-* ; *dhūtuya* (F, line 3 ; H, line 9) from Skt. *duhitṛi-* ; *jām[ā]tukasa* (E, line 1) from Skt. *jāmātṛi-* ; *mātuk[ā]* (C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 9) from Skt. *mātṛikā*.

We notice *Svarabhakti* in *bhariyā* (*passim*) from Skt. *bhāryā* ; *mahāchetiya* (*passim*) from Skt. °*chaitya* ; *achariya* (*passim*) from Skt. *āchārya* ; *harisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *harsha* ; *tarisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *tarsha* ; *darisana* (F, line 1) from Skt. *darśana* ; and *mahāsenāpatini* (*passim*) from Skt. °*patnī*. *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §135.

The *p* between vowels becomes *v*. Examples : *Avaraṁta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Aparānta* ; *kavaṇa* (*passim*) from Skt. *kṛipaṇa* ; *uvāsikāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *upāsikā* ; *uvarivaṁṇi[taṁ]* (F, line 3) from Skt. *upari*° ; *th[ā]vitaṁ* (F, line 3) from Skt. *sthāpitaṁ* ; *Govagāma* (F, line 2) from Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?) ; *maṁṭava* (E, line 2) and *maṁḍava* (F, line 3) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

The *media* is changed into the *tenuis*, in *koṭh[ā]kārika*° (F, line 2) from Skt. *kōshṭāgārika-* ; and *maṁṭava* (E, line 2) from Skt. *maṇḍapa*. But elsewhere *maṁḍava* (thrice in F). *Cf.* also *deyadhama-parichāko* from Skt. °*parityāga-*, in the Allūru fragmentary inscription, line 14.

The *tenuis* has been changed into the *media* in *Pugiyāna[ṁ]* (E, line 1), but elsewhere *Pūkīyānaṁ* or *Pūkiyānaṁ*, and *sughāya* (G, line 10) from Skt. *sukha-*. *Cf.* *nigāyasa* from Skt. *nikāya-* in the Allūru inscription. As regards *Pūkīya* and *Pūgīya*, it is, of course, possible that the latter is the more correct and original form. May it be connected with Skt. *pūga*=" betel-palm " ?

[1] G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44.

The initial *h* in some personal names appears to have been developed from *s*. Examples: *Haṁmasiri* (C 4, line 5); *Haṁmasiriṇikā* (C 2, lines 5-6 and 7; C 4, line 7); *Haghaṁna* (F, line 2). Also, *Ayira-haṁghāna* (C 1, line 11; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *Ārya-saṅghānām.* But *saṁghaṁ* (H, line 13) and *mahābhikhu-sa[ṁ]ghasa* (E, line 2).

We wish also to draw attention to the following forms: *ayira-* (C 1, line 11; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *ārya*; *bhayā* for the more usual *bhariyā* from Skt. *bhāryā*; and *Chilāta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Kirāta.*

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

a. Inscriptions on the *āyaka*-pillars of the Mahāchetiya.[1]

A. 2. East side, second pillar. One large and two small fragments. The large piece contains lines 1—7 (*sidhaṁ* to *=vachhalā ma-*), line 7 being incomplete. Besides, there is a gap on the right hand side by which several *aksharas* at the end of lines 2—4 and 6 are lost. One of the smaller fragments supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 6—10, and the other, a few *aksharas* of lines 7—8. The inscription, when entire, must have consisted of 10 lines, 24½ inches long. It records the gift of a pillar by the *Mahātalavarī* Chāṁtisiri (name lost), the sister of King Chāṁtamūla and the paternal aunt of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata. Date lost.

A. 3. East side, third pillar. Inscription in two pieces. One large piece contains the inscription almost complete except the middle portion of lines 1—2. This missing portion is supplied by the smaller fragment containing 17 *aksharas* of the first line. The inscription consists partly of 10 lines, 25 inches long. It records the donation of a pillar by Chāṁtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date, the 6th year of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata in last short line.

A. 4. East side, fourth pillar. Two large and one smaller fragment. The one large piece contains ll. 1—5, incomplete and partly obliterated. The other contains lines 5—11, *viz.*, the latter half of the inscription, almost complete, although partly indistinct. The small fragment supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 1 to 3. The inscription must have consisted of 11 lines, measuring from 21—22½ inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāṁtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above sub A. 3 in last short line.

B. 1. South side, first pillar. One fragment, containing lines 1—6 in their full length, but with central portion completely obliterated. Length of lines 16 inches. Name of donor and date lost.

B. 2. South side, second pillar. Inscription complete in 7 lines, measuring 20 to 22 inches in length. Gift of a pillar by the *Mahātalavarī* Aḍavi-Chātisiri, the daughter of King Chāṁtamūla. Date as above.

B. 3. South side, third pillar. Complete in 10 lines, measuring 21 to 23½ inches in length. A few *aksharas* at the end of lines 5—9 missing. Donation of a pillar by Chāṁtisiriṇikā, evidently the same person as Chāṁtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above in last short line.

B. 4. South side, fourth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 17½ to 22 inches. Gift of a stone pillar by the *Mahāsenāpatini* Chula-Chā[ṁ]tisiriṇikā. Date as above in 6th and short 7th line.

B. 5. South side, fifth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 20 to 22 inches. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvī* Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā. Date as above in last short line.

[1] Besides the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions enumerated here, twenty-three small fragments have been found which must have belonged to this class of inscriptions.

C. 1. West side, first pillar. Two pieces : the smaller piece, containing lines 1 to 6 (l. 1 complete, l. 2 with the first *akshara* missing, ll. 3—6 incomplete), fits wedge-like into the larger one, which consists of ll. 3 to 13, ll. 3 to 6 supplying the missing portions of the upper piece. The inscription, when complete, consisted of 13 lines, 21 to 23 inches long. Donation of a pillar by Chāṁtisiri. Date as above.

C. 2. West side, second pillar. Two pieces. The larger piece contains ll. 1—6 complete, besides the initial and concluding portions of ll. 7—9. The smaller piece supplies the middle portions of these three lines and the remainder of the inscription, *viz.*, ll. 10—12 entire. Twelve lines, 19½ to 22 inches long. Gift of a stone pillar by *Mahādēvī* Bapisiriṇikā, the daughter of Haṁmasiriṇikā and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in ll. 11—12, the concluding line being a short one.

C. 3. West side, third pillar. Two pieces. The smaller fragment has 6 lines, *viz.*, l. 1 complete, whereas considerable portions of ll. 2—5 are missing and only a few *aksharas* at the beginning of l. 6 remain. The larger fragment contains the missing parts of ll. 2—6 and, besides, ll. 7—13 entire. Thirteen lines, 20 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[ṁ]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

C. 4. West side, fourth pillar. Complete in eight lines, 19 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvī* Chhaṭhisiri, the daughter of Haṁmasiri[ṇikā] and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in concluding line.

C. 5. West side, fifth pillar. Complete in five lines, 19½ to 20½ inches in length. Gift of a stone pillar by the wife of Mahākaṁdasiri. Date as above.

D. 2. North side, second pillar. One piece containing ll. 1—5 complete, the initial and concluding portions of ll. 6—7, the first six *aksharas* of line 8 and only one *akshara* opening line 9. The inscription must have recorded the gift of a pillar by Chāṁtisiri. Date lost.

D. 3. North side, third pillar. Only a fragment containing ll. 1—2 almost complete, and besides, a few *aksharas* of line 3. Date lost.

D. 4. North side, fourth pillar. Complete in ten lines, 19½ to 21½ inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[ṁ]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

X. Original position unknown. Complete in nine lines, 24 to 25 inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāṁtisiri. Date as above.

b. Chetiya-ghara inscriptions.

E. Inscription on floor of apsidal shrine, No. I, immediately to the east of the Mahāchetiya. Inscription complete in two lines, measuring 14 feet 5 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ½ to ⅝ inch. Inscription well preserved except first portion of the second line. It records the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* or stone *maṁṭava* (Skt. *maṇḍapa*) provided with a cloister (*chatusāla*) at the foot of the Mahāchetiya by the *Mahātalavarī* Chāṁtisiri, mentioned in several of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions, who here refers to King Siri-Virapurisadata as her son-in-law, for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. Date, the eighteenth year of King Siri-Virapurisadata.

F. Inscription on floor of the apsidal shrine, No. II, on the mound Nāharāḷḷabōḍu, consisting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and of a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ⅝ to ¾ inch. The inscription is fairly well preserved; here and there some *aksharas* have been lost. After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha it records the foundation of a *chetiya-ghara* and of various other religious edifices by an *uvāsikā* (Skt. *upāsikā*), named Bodhisiri, together with her relatives, for the benefit of the fraternities (*theriya*) of the Ceylonese monks who had converted a number of countries which are enumerated at great length. Date, the fourteenth year of King Māṭhariputa (=Siri-Vīrapurisadata ?).

c. Detached pillar inscriptions.

G. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele decorated with carvings, at a distance of about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. It consists of ten lines of writing. The inscribed surface shows three cracks and the right hand portion damaged. Some three or four *aksharas* at the end of ll. 1—5 are lost. Lines 9 and 10 are partly obliterated. The lines, when complete, must have been 15 inches in length. The average size of the *aksharas* is ½ to ¾ inch. The lettering has become worn owing to exposure to the weather. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭidēvā, who was the wife (?) of King Siri-Virapurisadata and the mother of King Ehuvuḷa(?)-Chā[ṁ]tamūla. The date in ll. 9—10 is no longer legible.

H. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele found at Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, measuring about 12 inches in length. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but here and there some *aksharas* have become indistinct. The execution is fair, but less ornamented than in the earlier inscriptions. The size of the *aksharas* is from ⅜ to ½ inch; they miss the long-drawn strokes of the earlier inscriptions and the lines are placed close together. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Koda[ba]lisiri, who was the daughter of King Siri-Virapurisadata, sister of King Ehuvuḷa-Chā[ṁ]tamūla, and wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. It is dated in the 11th year of King Ehuvuḷa-Chā[ṁ]tamūla.

d. Inscriptions on sculptures.

J. Inscription along the lower edge of a frieze showing the adoration of the Wheel of the Law (first sermon at Benares) in the centre and an amatory couple or *mithuna* on both sides. These three scenes are separated and flanked by railings. The frieze is supported by a row of crouching lions. The inscription consists of two lines, measuring 38 and 16 inches in length. The execution is fair and the preservation, satisfactory. The average size of the *aksharas* is ½ inch. The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha and records the donation of a slab and of a coping stone at the Mahāchetiya by an individual of the name of Chhadakapavaticha and by his housewife Padumavāni together with their sons and daughters. No date.

K. Inscription along the lower edge of a long sculptured beam found on the mound Polugubōḍu. It consists of one line of writing, the beginning and concluding portions of which are almost entirely obliterated. The inscription, as far as preserved, measures nearly five feet in length. It records the donation of a slab (?) by a person whose name is lost, together with his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandsons, granddaughters, relatives and friends. The preserved portions contain no date.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 3.

The text of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription recording the donation of such a pillar by Chā[ṁ]tisiri occurs in nine redactions, namely, A 2, 3 and 4, B 3, C 1 and 3, D 2 and 4, and X, seven of which are complete and two (A 2 and D 2) are incomplete. In C 1 there is an addition at the end, whereas in X the invocation of the Buddha opening the document has been omitted. It will be sufficient to reproduce the text only once, as given in C 3, noting such *variae lectiones* as are found in the other redactions. The additional passage of C 1 will be given separately.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo[1] bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino[2] savamñuno (l. 2) sava-sat-ānukaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha- (l. 3) [gaṁ]dha-hathisa saṁma-saṁ[budh]asa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mah[ā]chetiye[3] mahārajasa (l. 4) Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa[4] hiraṇa-koṭi[5]-go-satasahasa-hala-sa- (l. 5) tasaha[sa-]dāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsiṭhiputasa[6] Ikhākusa (l. 6) Siri-Chātamūlasa[7] sodarā bhagini raṁño Māḍharīputasa[8] Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) pituchhā mahāsenāpatisa[9] mahātalavarasa Vāsidhīputasa[10] Pūkīyānaṁ[11] Kaṁdasiri[sa][12] (l. 8) bhariyā samaṇa-bam[h*]aṇa-kavaṇa-vanijaka[13]-dīn-ānugaha-velāmika[14]-dāna-paṭibhaga[15]-vo- (l. 9) chhiṁna[16]-dhāra-padāyini sava-sādhu-vachhalā mahādānapatini[17] mahātalavari Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka-[18] mātā (l. 10) Ch[ā]tisiri[19] apano ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānakānaṁ[20] parināmetunaṁ[21] (l. 11) ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya[22] atano cha nivāṇa-saṁpati-saṁpādake (l. 12) sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya[24] cha imaṁ khaṁbhaṁ patithapitaṁ ti (l. 13) Raṁño Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6[21] diva 10

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[1] Invocation of Buddha omitted in X.

[2] *supabudha-bodhino* up to *saṁma-saṁbudhasa* omitted in B 3, l. 1 ; C 1, l. 1 ; D 2, l. 1 ; D 4, l. 1.

[3] *imaṁmhi mahāchetiye* in A 4, l. 3 ; D 4, l. 1 (*mahāchetīye*) ; *imamhi mahāchetiye* in A 3, ll. 2-3 ; D 2, l. 1 ; *mahāchetīye* in A 2, l. 3.

[4] *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa-* omitted in D 2, l. 2. *Agihot-Āgiṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa* after *-parigahitasa* in A 2, ll. 3-4 ; A 3, ll. 3-4, A 4, l. 4 ; *-parigahītasa* in B 3, l. 2 ; D 4, l. 2.

[5] *hiraṁṇa-koṭi-* in A 2, l. 4 ; A 3, l. 4 ; B 3, l. 3 ; D 4, l. 3.

[6] *Vasiṭhīputasa* in A 3, l. 5 ; A 4, l. 5 ; B 3, l. 4 ; X, l. 3 ; *Vāseṭhīputasa* in C 1, l. 4 ; *Vāsiṭhī-* in D 2, l. 3 ; *Vāsidhi* in D 4, l. 4.

[7] *Chāṁtamūlasa* in A 2, l. 5 ; A 3, l. 5 ; A 4, l. 5 ; C 1, l. 5 ; D 4, l. 4 ; X, l. 3.

[8] *Māḍharīputasa* omitted in A 3, l. 5 ; D 4, l. 5 ; *Māḍhariputasa* in A 4, l. 6 ; X, l. 3.

[9] *°senāpatisa* omitted in X, l. 4.

[10] Read : *Vāsiṭhīputasa* with A 4, l. 6 ; B 3, l. 6 ; C 1, l. 6 ; X, l. 4. The reading is *Vāsiṭhiputasa* in A 2, l. 6 ; *Vāseṭhī-* in D 2, l. 5 ; *Vāsidhī-* in D 4, l. 5.

[11] *Pūkiyānaṁ* in B 3, l. 6 ; X, l. 4.

[12] *Kadasirisa* in A 4, l. 7 ; D 4, l. 6 ; X, l. 4. Omitted in A 3, l. 6.

[13] *-vaṇija-* in A 3, l. 6 ; *-vaṇijaka-* in A 4, l. 7 ; B 3, l. 6 ; C 1, l. 7 ; D 2, l. 5 ; D 4, l. 6 ; X, l. 5.

[14] *vailāmika* in A 4, l. 7 ; *-velāmi-* in B 3, l. 7 ; D 2, l. 6.

[15] Read : *paṭibhāga*, the reading of A 2, l. 7 ; A 4, ll. 7-8 ; B 3, l. 7 ; C 1, l. 7 ; D 2, l. 6 ; D 4, l. 6 ; X, l. 5.

[16] *vochhina* in A 2, l. 7 ; A 3, l. 7 ; A 4, l. 8 ; B 3, l. 7 ; C 1, l. 7 ; D 4, l. 6 ; X, l. 5.

[17] *mahādānapatini* omitted in B 3, l. 7 ; D 2, l. 6 ; D 4, l. 7.

[18] *Khaṁdasāgaraṁṇaka-* in A 3, l. 7 ; A 4, l. 8 ; C 1, l. 8 ; X, l. 6. *Khada-* in D 2, l. 7 ; D 4, l. 7.

[19] *Chāṁtisiri* in A 3, l. 7 ; A 4, l. 9 ; C 1, l. 8 ; X, l. 6. *Chāṁtisiriṇikā* in B 3, l. 8.

[20] *-vaṭamānake* in B 3, l. 8 ; D 4, l. 8 ; X, l. 7.

[21] *parināmetuna* in A 3, l. 8 ; A 4, l. 9 ; *parinametuna* in D 4, l. 8 ; *parināmetūna* (?) in X, l. 7 ; *apano ubhaya-kula-parināmetūna* in C 1, l. 8

[22] *ubhaya-loka-sukha-nivāṇathanāya* in A 3, l. 8 ; A 4, l. 10 ; X, l. 7. Omitted in B 3, l. 9 ; C 1, l. 9 ; D 4, l. 8.

X, l. 8 has after *-saṁpādake* the following : *bhagavato saṁma-saṁbudhasa ṭhātu- (dhātu) vara-parigahitasa mahāchetiyaṁmi.*

[23] *-sukha-nivāṇathanāya* in A 3, l. 9 ; A 4, l. 10 (?) ; D 4, l. 9. *Sava-loka-* omitted in B 3, l. 9.

[24] *vā pa 6* written under the line. In A 3, l. 10 and A 4, l. 11 these *aksharas* have been omitted.

C-3.

C-1.

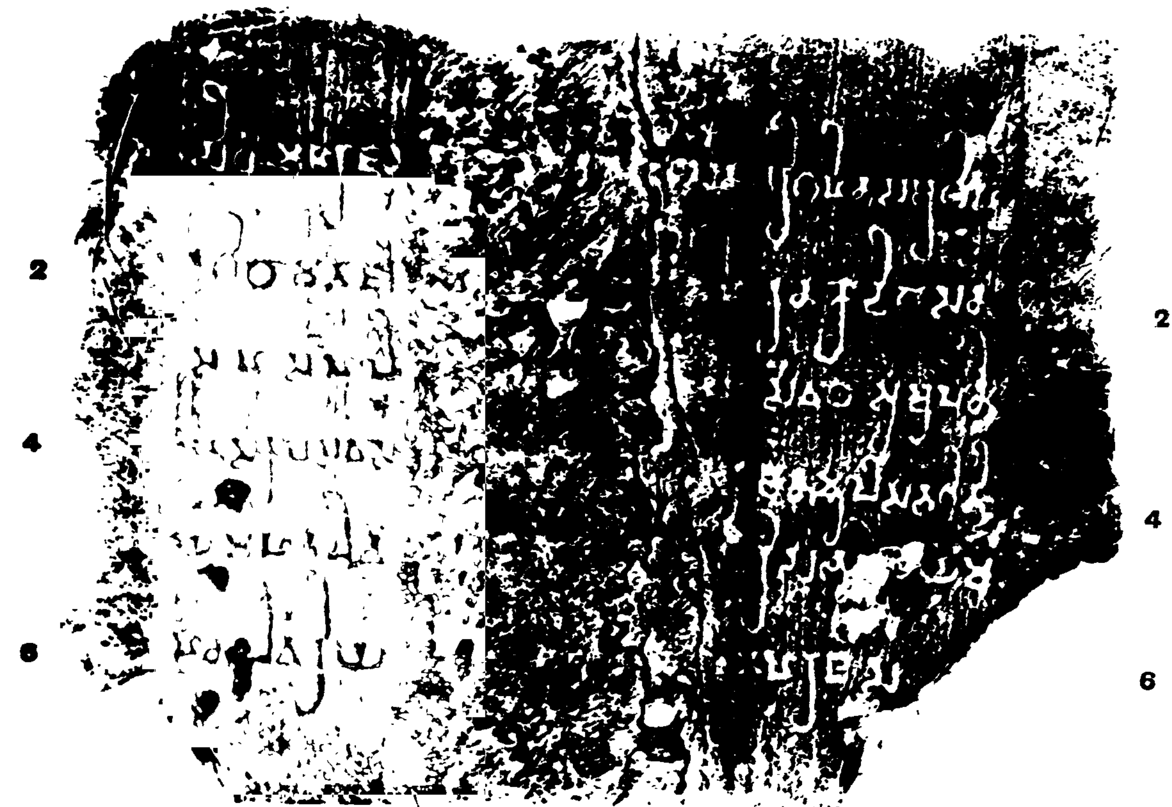
HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE: ·25.

SCALE: ·225.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

B-1.



B-2.

SCALE ONE-THIRD.

TRANSLATION.

[illegible] Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, [illegible] compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which [illegible] conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the [illegible] enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, by Nirvāṇa). At the [illegible] *Mahātalavari* Chā[ṁ]tisiri (*who is*) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa [illegible] hā[m]tamūla—absorbed by Mahāsena the lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores [illegible] hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) unimpeded of [illegible] (*he*) attains,—(*she who is*) the paternal aunt of King Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata, [illegible] the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, Vāsiṭhīputa Kaṁdasiri of (*the* [illegible]) the Pūkiyas: and the mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka, she who, out of compassion [illegible], Brāhmins, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow [illegible] matchless and ceaseless flow[1] of Velāmic gifts, she, the great mistress of munificence, [illegible] all the virtuous having due regard for the past, future and present (*members*) of both [illegible] to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and [illegible] all the world, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-[illegible] sadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Additional Passage in C 1.[2]

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 10) ācharıyānaṁ Aparamahāvinas[e]liyāna[ṁ] suparigahitaṁ imaṁ mahāchetiya-[illegible] (l. 11) Paṁṇagāma-vathavānaṁ Dīgha-Majhima-pa[ṁ]cha-mātuka-osaka[3]-[illegible]kānaṁ āchariyānaṁ Ayira-haṁghāna[ṁ] (l. 12) a[ṁ]tevāsikena Dīgha-Majhima-[illegible]-dharena bhajaṁt-Ānadena[4] nithapitaṁ imaṁ navakamaṁ mahāchetiyaṁ (l. 13) khaṁbhā cha ṭhāpitā ti raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 va pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha-* and the *Majjhima-nikāyas* by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-haṁgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Paṁṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima-*[*nikāya*] and of the five *Mātukas*. This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 1.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ mahārājasa....-sena-parigahitasa Agiho-(l. 2) t-Āgiṭhoma-Vāja......[hi]rana koṭi-go-sata- (l. 3) sahasa-hala....savathesu apati- (l. 4) hata-sa[ṁ]kapasa V[ā]se-......

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[1] My translation is based on the assumption that we must read *-dān-āpatibhāg-avochinna-*.

[2] *Cf.* the corresponding passage in line 8 of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription C 2, *infra*.

[3] Read : *-desaka-* (C 2, l. 9).

[4] Read : *bhadaṁt-Āṇaṁdena* (C 2, l. 10).

Chātamūlasa bhagini- (l. 5) ya mahātalava[rasa]....[si]risa bha[riyā]ya ma- (l. 6) hātala-variya.... mah[ā]r[ā]jasa

[The inscription is too fragmentary to admit of translation. It, evidently, opens with the string of epithets eulogizing King Siri-Chā[ṁ]tamūla. The donor, whose name is lost, was, perhaps, a daughter of Chā[ṁ]tisiri.]

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ mahārajasa Asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-sata-(l. 2) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Ikhākusa (l. 3) Siri-Chā[ṁ]tamūlasa duhutā raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā- (l. 4) talavarasa mahādaṁḍanāyakasa Dhanakānaṁ Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇakasa bhayā mahātalavari (l. 5) Aḍavi-Chātisiri apano ubhaya-kulaṁ parināme[tū]na atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āva-hathanāya (l. 6) bhagavato saṁma-sabudhasa[2] dhātuvara-parigahītasa Mahāchetīye imaṁ khaṁbhaṁ patidhapaṁta[1] ti (l. 7) raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success The *Mahātalavari* Aḍavi-Chātisiri (*who is*) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chā[ṁ]tamūla, the offerer of Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*), of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims ; (*who is*) the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, (*and who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khaṁdavisākhaṁṇaka (*of the family*) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāchetiya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i e*, by Nirvāṇa). In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

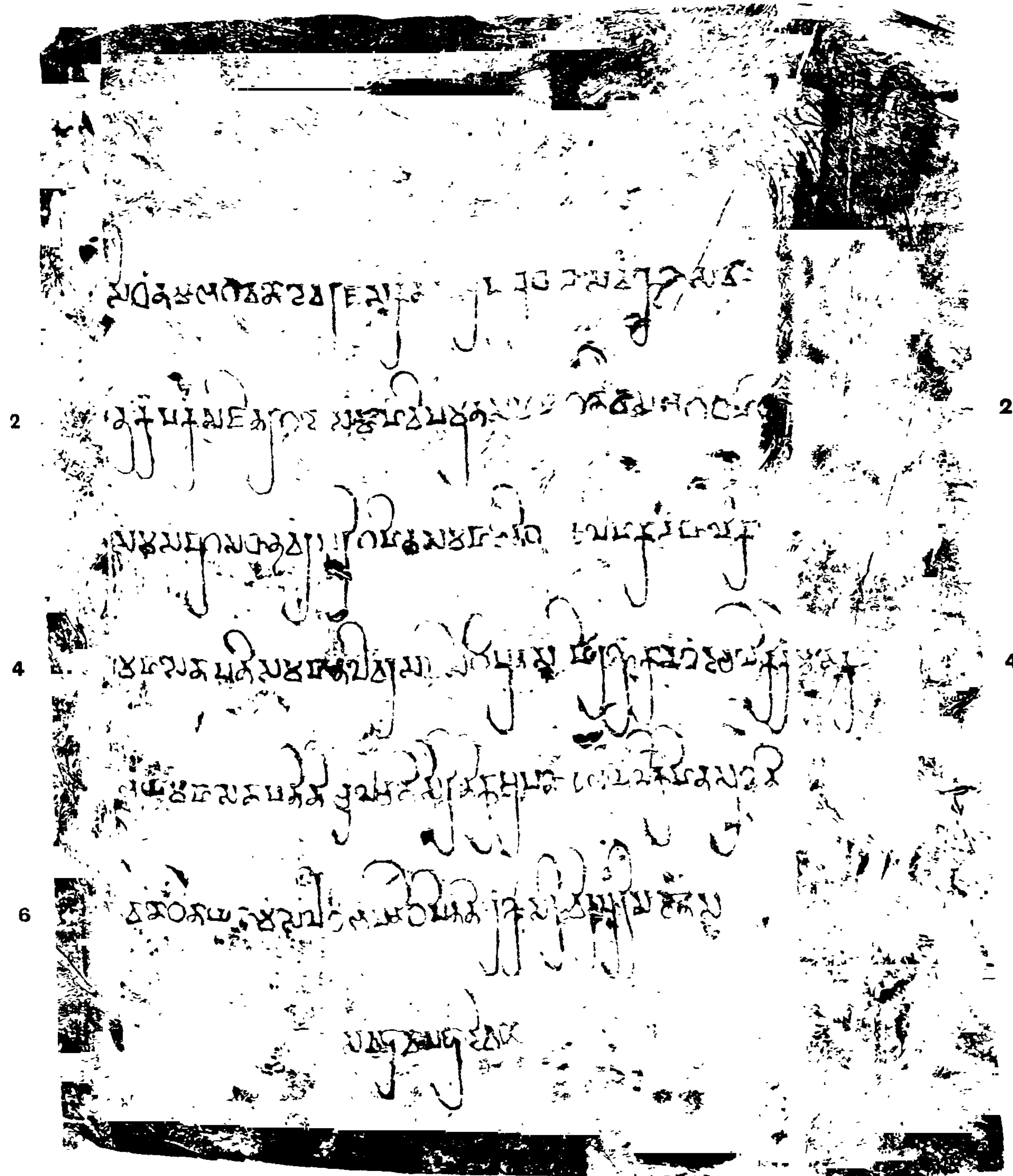
(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bo[dhino*] savaṁñuno sava-sa[t-ā-](l. 2)nukaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṁdha-ha[thisa] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbugasa[2] dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahācheti[ye] Kulahakāna-[ṁ] bālikā (l. 4) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Hiraṁñakānaṁ Khaṁ-dachalikireṁmaṇaka[sa] (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chātisiriṇikā apano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vāṇathanāya imaṁ sela-khaṁbhaṁ patiṭhapitaṁ ti raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

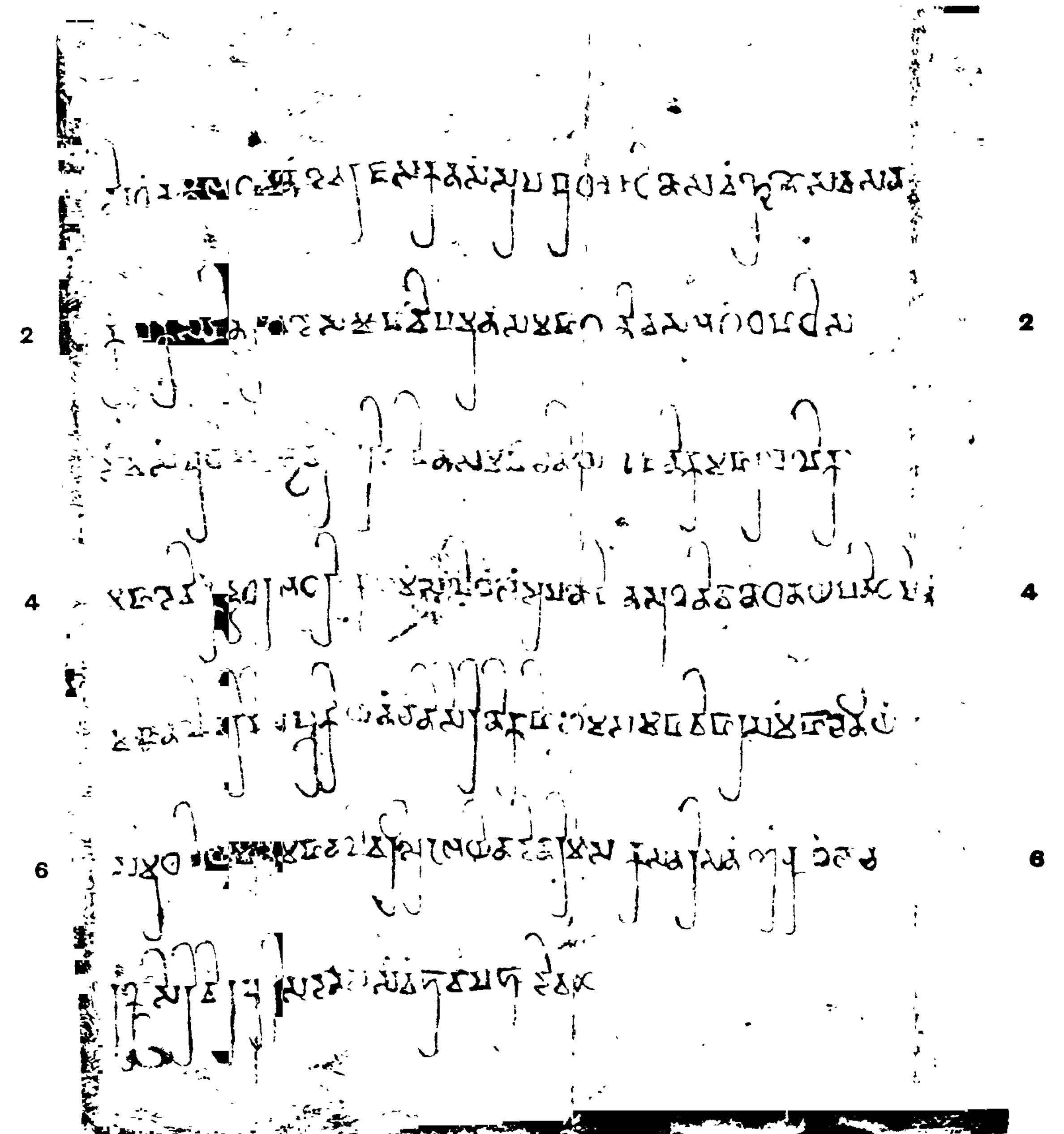
Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the

[1]Read : *patiṭhāpitaṁ*.
[2]Read : *°sambudhasa*.

B-4.



B-5.



C-2.

C-4.

SCALE: .225.

Mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chāṭisiriṇikā, (*who is*) a daughter of (*the family of*) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, Vāsiṭhīputa Khaṁdachalikireṁmaṇaka of (*the family of*) the Hiraṁñakas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savaṁñuno sava-sat-[ānu-*] (l. 2) kaṁpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṁdha-hadhisa[1] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanikā[2] mahārabalikā[3] (l. 4) mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā imaṁ sela-khaṁbhaṁ apano hita-sukha-nivāṇadhanāya[4] patiṭh[ā]pitaṁ (l. 5) mahātalavarihi cha Pūkiyānaṁ Chāṁtisiriṇikāhi imasa mahāvihārasa mahāchetīyaṁ[5] (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalavarīa ubhayitā dināri-māsakā satari-sataṁ 100[+*]70[6] khaṁbho cha (l. 7) raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, *etc.* (see above, sub B 4). At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādēvī Rudradharabhaṭārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjenī (Skt. Ujjayinī) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the *Mahātalavaris*, Chāṁtisiriṇikā of (*the family of*) the Pūkiyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) *dināri-māsakas* and a pillar have been raised by the *Mahātalavarī*.[6] In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 2.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa saṁma-saṁma-saṁbudhasa[7] dhātuvara-(l. 2) parigahitasa[8] Mahāchetiye mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa (l. 3) Agihot-Āgiṭhogiṭhoma[9]- Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-sata- (l. 4) sahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa (l. 5) Vāsiṭhīputasa Ikhākusa Siri-Chātamūlasa sodarāya bhaginiya Haṁma- (l. 6) siriṁṇikāya bālikā raṁño Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Bapisiriṇikā (l. 7) apano mātaraṁ Haṁmasiriṇikaṁ parinamatuna[10] atane[11] cha nivāṇa-saṁpati-saṁpādake (l. 8) imaṁ sela-thaṁbhaṁ patithapitaṁ achari[yā]naṁ Apara-mahāvinaseliyānaṁ suparigahita[ṁ*] (l. 9) imaṁ Mahāchetiya-navakamaṁ Paṁṇagāma-vathavānaṁ Dīgha-Majhima-paṁda[12]- m[ā]tuka-desa[ka-vā*][chakānaṁ] (l. 10) arayāna[ṁ][13]

[1] Read : *hathisa.*

[2] Read : *Ujenikā.*

[3] Read : *mahārāja-bālikā.*

[4] Read : *nivānāthanāya.*

[5] Read : *mahāchetiye.*

[6] The meaning probably is that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā, besides dedicating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 *dināri-māsakas* towards the expenses incurred by Chāṁtisiri for the building of the *stūpa.*

[7] *saṁma-* has been written twice by mistake.

[8] Perhaps *parigaṁhitasa.*

[9] The two *aksharas gi ṭho* have been written twice by mistake.

[10] Read : *parināmetūna(ṁ).*

[11] Read : *atano.*

[12] Read : *paṁcha* (*cf.* above, C 1, l. 11).

[13] Read : *āchariyānaṁ.*

Ayira-haghāna[ṁ] aṁtevāsikena Dīgha-Manigaya[1]-dharena bhadaṁt-Ānaṁdena (l. 11) niṭhapita[ṁ] ima[ṁ] navakama[ṁ] mahāchetiya[ṁ] khambhā cha ṭhapitā ti raṁño Sari-Viripurisadatasa[2] (l. 12) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Bapasiriṇikā (*who is*) the daughter of Haṁmasiriṁṇikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chāṭamūla, *etc.*, (see sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Haṁmasiriṇikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahāchetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjhima-(nikāyas)* (?) by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṅgha who are resident in Paṁṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima-(nikāyas)*, and of the five *Mātukas*. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa sammā-saṁbudhasa dhātuvara-parigaṁhitasa (l. 2) mahādetiyaṁhi[3] mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahītasa Agihāta-[4] (l. 3) Agiṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala sata- (l. 4) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Ikhākusa (l. 5) Siri-Chāṁtamūlasa sodarā-bhaginiya Haṁmasariya[5] bālikā mahārajasa (l. 6) Māḍharīputasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Chhaṭhisiri apano (l. 7) mātaraṁ Haṁmasiriṇikaṁ parināmetuna atanaṁ[6] cha nivāṇa-saṁpati-saṁpādake imaṁ bhaṁkhaṁ[7] (l. 8) patiṭha-pitaṁ mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 dāva[8] 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, *etc.*, (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevī Chhaṭhisiri (Skt. Shashṭhīśrī), (*who is*) the daughter of Haṁmasiri, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chāṁtamūla, *etc.*, (see above, sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Haṁmasiriṇikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato saṁma-saṁbu[dha*]sa dhātuvara-parigahitasa Mahāchetiye (l. 2) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsiṭhīputasa Pūkiyānaṁ Mahākaṁdasirisa (l. 3)

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[1] Read *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dharena* (*cf.* above, C 1, l. 12).

[2] Read : *Siri-Vira*

[3] Read : *mahāchetiyaṁhi.*

[4] Read : *Agihot-A°.*

[5] Read : *siriya.*

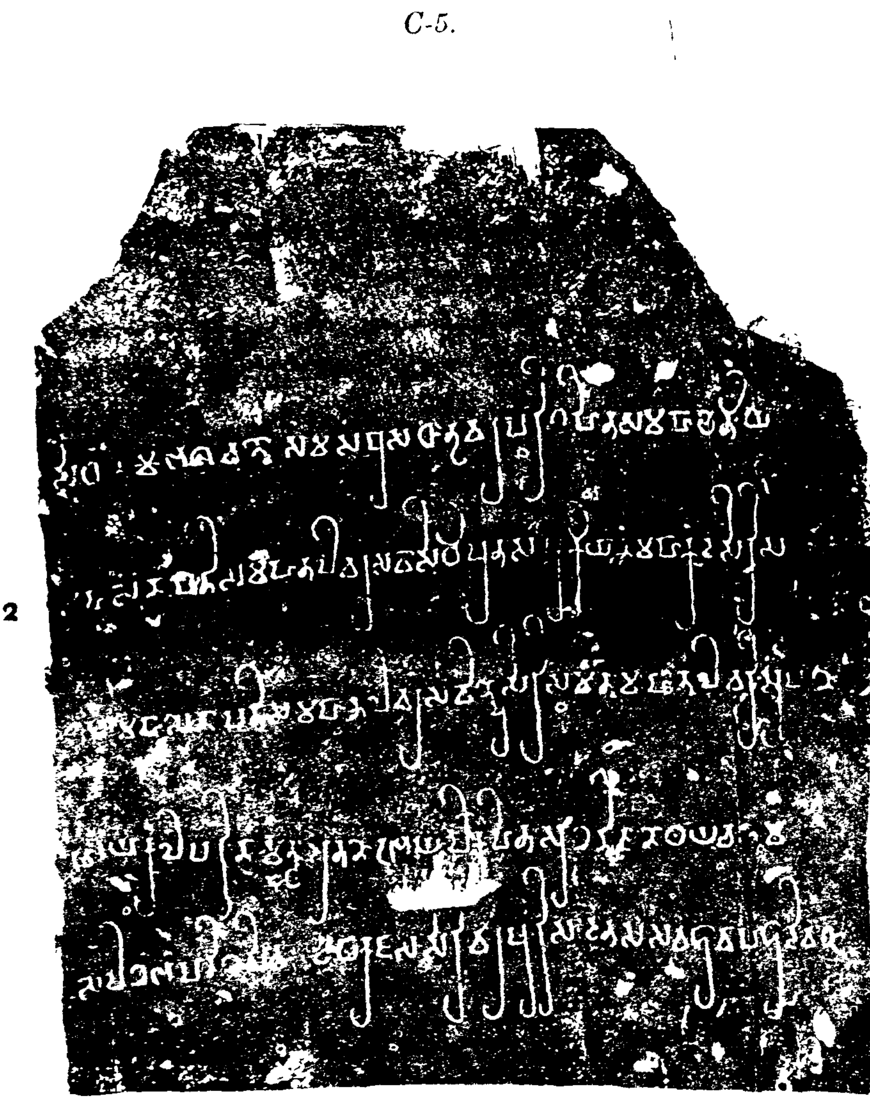
[6] Read : *atano.*

[7] Read : *khaṁbhaṁ.*

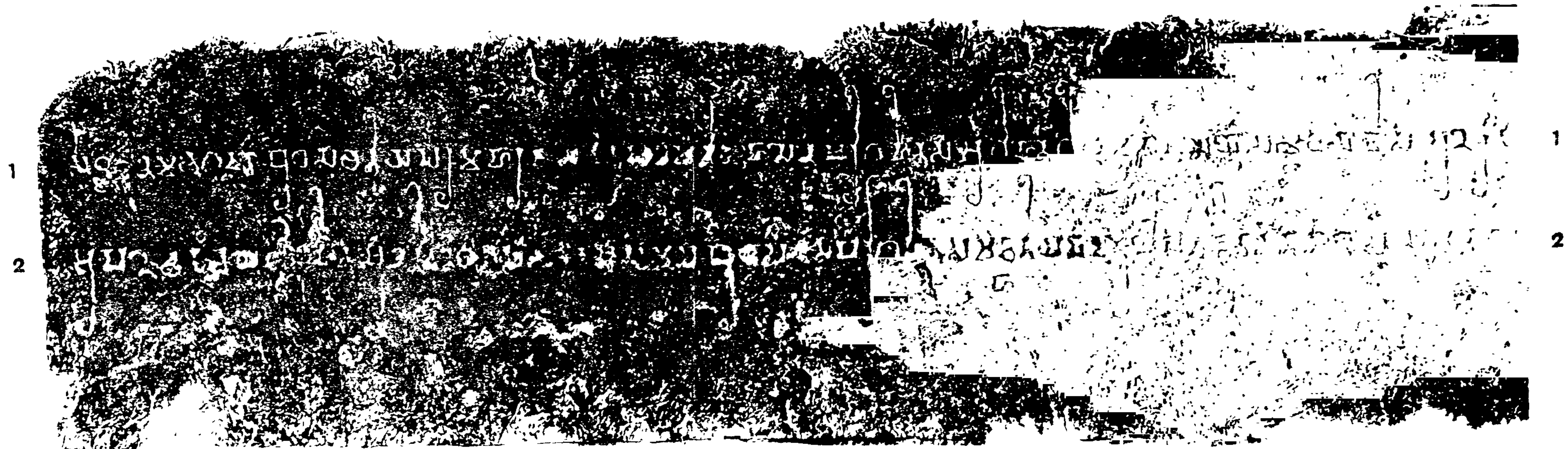
[8] Read : *diva.*



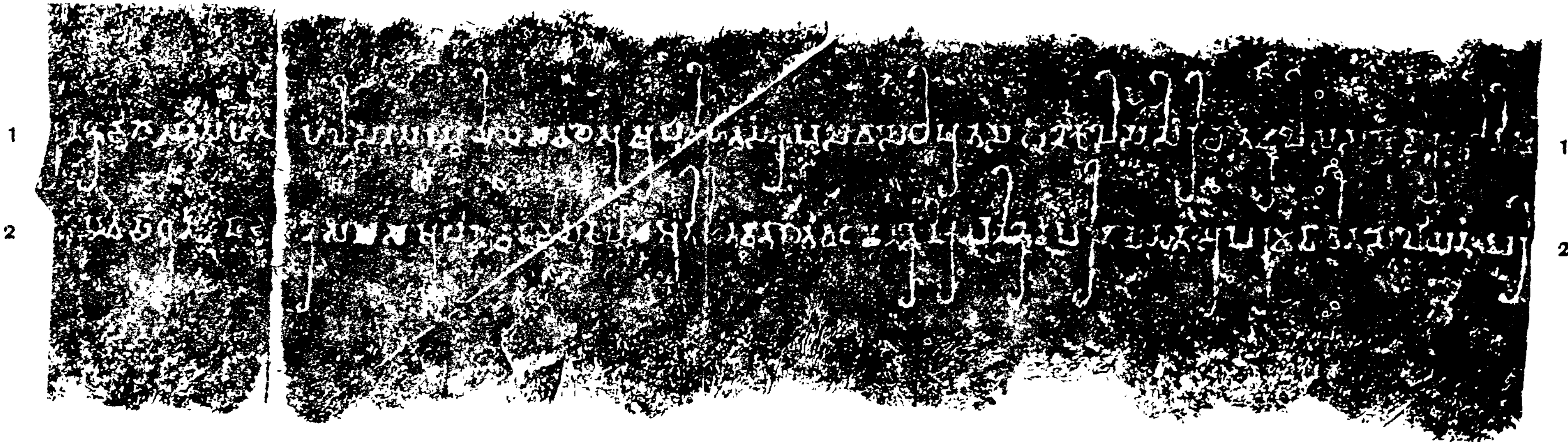
C-5.



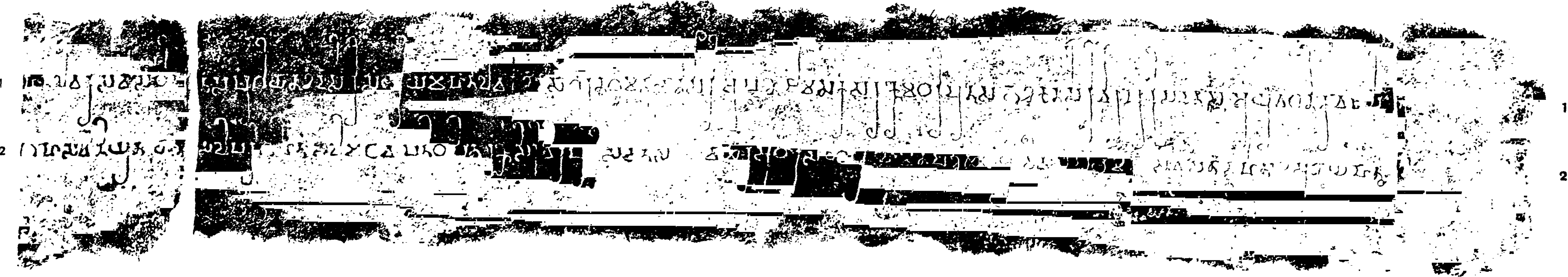
E. SECTION-1.



E. SECTION-2.



E. SECTION-3.



bhayā mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Viṇhusirisa mātā mahātalavari apano (l. 4) ubhaya-kulaṁ parināmetu[na*] atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathaya cha imaṁ (l. 5) sela-khambhaṁ patiṭhapitaṁ mahārajasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the *Mahātalavarī* (*who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhiputa Mahākaṁdasiri of (*the family of*) the Pūkīyas and (*who is*) the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Viṇhusiri (Skr. Vishṇuśrī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) Mahārāja Siri-Vira-purisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato Budhasa chetiya-ghara mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihot-[Ā]giṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa aneka-hirana-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasa[hasa*]-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākulasa[1] Siri-Chātamūlasa sahodar[ā] - bhagini mahātalavarasa Vāseṭhiputasa Pugiyāna[ṁ*] Khaṁdasirisa bhariy[ā] mahātalavari Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaga-m[ā]tā Chātisiri apano jām-[ā]tukasa raño M[ā]ṭhariputasa Ikh[ā]kunaṁ Siri-Virapurisadatasa ayu-vadhanike vejayike (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-[loka-]hita-sukha-[nivāṇathanāya samma-saṁbudhasa dhā-][2] tu-parigahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle[3] pavajitānaṁ nānā-desa-samanāgatānaṁ sava-sādhūnaṁ mahābhikhu-sa[ṁ]ghasa apa[no cha u-]bhaya-kulasa atichhita[m-]anāgata-vaṭamānake nikapanike cha parināmetunaṁ Aparamahāvinaseliy[ā]naṁ parigahe sava-niyuta[ṁ] chātusala-parigahitaṁ[4] sela-maṁṭava[ṁ] patiṭh[ā]pitaṁ raṁño Siri-Vira-purisadatasa saṁvachharaṁ aṭhāra saṁ 10[+*]8 hemaṁta-pakhaṁ chhaṭhaṁ 6 divasaṁ paṁchamaṁ 5 sava-satānaṁ hit[ā]ya sukhāya hotu ti

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A *chetiya-ghara* (*chaitya*-hall). Chātisiri (*who is*) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri-Chātamūla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed ?) by Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishṭōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (*who is*) the wife of Vāseṭhiputa Khaṁdasiri of (*the family of*) the Pugiyas and (*who is*) the mother of Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Māṭhariputa, Siri-Virapurisadata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided

[1] Probably *Ikhāku-kulasa.*

[2] The *aksharas* placed between square brackets are still partly traceable.

[3] The *akshara hā* is written under the line.

[4] Read: *chatusāla.*

with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. In the eighteenth year, *anno* 18, of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the fifth—5th—day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṁsa-saṁbhavasa deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa-sada(ā)pita[1]-Māra-bala-dapa-māna-pasamana-karasa dasa-bala-maha(ā)balasa aṭha[ṁ*]-ga-maga-dhamachaka-pavatakasa chaka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇasa taruṇa-divasa-kara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-soma-darisanasa sava-loka-chita-mahitasa Budhasa raṁño M[āṭha]riputasa[2]....10[+*]4 hemaṁta-pakhaṁ chhaṭhaṁ 6 divasaṁ teraṁ 10[+*]3....ta [rā]-jāchariyānaṁ[3] Kasmira-Gaṁdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avaraṁta-Vaṁga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na-]Da[mila-Pa]lura-[4] Taṁbapaṁṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dakānaṁ theriyānaṁ Taṁbapa[ṁ]ṇakānaṁ suparigahe (l. 2) Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhaṁmagirīyaṁ chetiya-gharaṁ sapaṭa-saṁtharaṁ sachetīyaṁ sava-niyutaṁ kāritaṁ uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya apano bhatuno Budhi[ṁ]nakasa pituno cha se Govagāma-vathavasa Revata-gahapatisa mātuya cha sa Budhaṁnikāya bhātunaṁ cha se Chaṁdamukhanasa Karuṁbudhinasa Haghaṁnasa bhaginīya cha Revatiṁnikāya bhātu-putānaṁ cha Mahā-Chaṁdamukha-Chula-Chaṁdamukhānaṁ bhāgineyānaṁ cha Mahā-Mūla-Chula-Mūlānaṁ apano cha ayakasa Mūlavāniyasa ayīkāya Budhavāniki[nāya] mātulaka-[5][sa cha] koṭh[ā]kārikasa Bhadasa Bodhisaṁmasa Chaṁdasa Bodhikasa mahāmātukāya Bhadiḷ[ā]ya Bodhiya cha apano pituno Budhi[vā]niyasa m[ātuya]....(l. 3) bhātuno Mūlasa bhaginīnaṁ Budhaṁnikāya Mūlaṁnikāya Nāgabodhinikāya cha dhūtuya Vīraṁnikāya putānaṁ Nāgaṁnasa Vīraṁnasa cha suṁnhānaṁ cha Bhadasiri-Misīnaṁ evam-eva cha Kulaha-vihāre chetiya-gharaṁ Sīhala-vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāsādo Mahā-Dhaṁmagiriyaṁ ovarako 1 mahāvi[hā*]re maṁdava-khaṁbho Devagiriyaṁ padhāna-sālā Puvasele taḷākaṁ a[laṁ]dā-[6] ma[ṁ*]ḍavo cha Kaṁṭakasele mahāchetiyasa puva-dāre sela-maṁḍavo Hirumuṭhuve ovarakā tiṁṇi 3 Papilāyaṁ ovarakā sata 7 Puphagirīya[ṁ] sela-maṁḍavo Dhaṁ[7]......vihāre sela-ma[ṁ]ḍavo etaṁ cha savaṁ uvarivaṁṇi-[8][taṁ....sā]dhu-vagasa[9] achaṁta-[10] hita-sukhāya thavitaṁ sava[sa] cha lokasa imaṁ navakaṁmaṁ tiṁhi navaka[ṁ]mikehi kāritaṁ Chaṁdamukha-therena cha (l. 4) Dhaṁmanaṁdi-therena cha Nāga-therena cha sela-vaḍhākisa Vidhikasa kaṁmaṁ ti

[1] [I would read °*moha-dosasa dapita-Māra*°—Ed.]

[2] The *akshara ṭha* of *Māṭhariputasa* is partly preserved. After this word some five or six *aksharas* are lost. In the absence of any traces of *i* strokes, the missing word cannot have been *Siri-Purisadatasa*. In all probability it was *saṁvachharaṁ*, followed by a word expressing "fourteenth" (*chodasaṁ* ?).

[3] Perhaps *bhadaṁta-rāj-āchariyānaṁ* ?

[4] The words which I read *Yavana-Damila-Palura* are not quite certain. The *Da* of *Damila* is still legible and the long-drawn top strokes of the remaining two *aksharas* have led me to the conjectural reading *mila*, the body of the *akshara m* being partly preserved. The *Pa* of *Palura* is conjectural.

[5] The *akshara sa* of *mātulakasa* is conjectural. As the word is followed by several personal names in the genitive case, one would expect *mātulakānaṁ*, but the *akshara ka* shows no trace of an *ā*-stroke.

[6] Perhaps *sela-maṁḍa*?.

[7] Some ten *aksharas* are lost after *dhaṁ*.

[8] The *akshara taṁ* is conjectural. Perhaps *tasa*.

[9] The first *akshara sā* has been restored tentatively The *u*-stroke of *dhu* is still faintly visible.

[10] The *aksharas* which I read *achaṁta*- (Skt. *atyanta*) are indistinct.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (*which is*) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhāku's lineage ; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred ; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (*pertaining to*) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (*are marked with*) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(*year*) of King Māṭharīputa, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the.....masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Taṁbapaṁṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṁta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana(?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Taṁbapaṁṇi (Ceylon). At Siripavata (=Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapurī at the Convent on the Lesser Dhaṁmagiri a *chaitya*-hall with a flooring of slabs, with a *chaitya* and provided with all the necessaries, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Bōdhiśrī) for the sake of her own husband Budhiṁnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhaṁnikā and of his brothers Chaṁdamukhana, Karuṁbudhina (*and*) Haghaṁna and of (*his*) sister Revatiṁnikā and of (*his*) brother's sons Mahā-Chaṁdamukha (=Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chaṁdamukha (=Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (*his*) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (*for the sake*) of her own grandfather Mūlavāniya and of her grandmother Budhavānikinā and of her maternal uncle(*s*) (?), the treasurer[1] Bhada (=Skt. Bhadra), Bodhisaṁma (=Skt. Bōdhiśarman), Chaṁda (=Skt. Chandra) (*and*) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother.......... Bodhi and of her own father Budhivāniya and of her mother (?)...., of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhaṁnikā, Mūlaṁnikā, and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Vīraṁnikā, of her sons Nāgaṁna and Vīraṁna and of her daughters-in-law Bhadasiri (=Skt. Bhadraśrī) and Misi (=Skt. Miśrī). And even thuswise a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulaha-*vihāra*, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhaḷa-*vihāra* one—1—cell at the Great Dhaṁmagiri, a *maṇḍava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah[2] and *maṇḍava* at Puvasela (=Skt. Pūrvaśaila), a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kaṇṭakasela[3] (=Skt. Kaṇṭakaśaila), three—3—cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven—7—cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri (=Skt. Pushpagiri), ... a stone *maṇḍava* at the......*vihāra*. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the *thera* Chaṁdamukha, and the *thera* Dhaṁmanaṁdi and the *thera* Nāga. (*It is*) the work of the stone mason Vidhika.

Detached Pillar inscription G.

TRANSCRIPT.[4]

(l. 1) [Si]dhaṁ namo bhagavato teloka-dhaṁma-dhurā-vahasa mahārāja[sa Virū-] (l. 2) [pa]khapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihot-Āgiṭhoma-[Vājape-] (l. 3) y-Āsamedha-y-

[1] *Koṭhākārika* = Skt. *kōshṭhāgārika*.

[2] If *aḷaṁdā* is the correct reading, it may perhaps be taken for another form of Pali *ālinda* "a verandah a terrace".

[3] The vowel-mark of the fourth *akshara* has the appearance of an *o*-stroke, but this I believe is due to an error not unfrequent in these inscriptions.

[4] The first half of the inscription has been restored with the aid of the corresponding passage in other inscriptions.

[ā]yi(ji)sa hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasaha[sa-hala-sata-] (l. 4) sahasa-padāi(yi)sa savathesu apatihata-saṁka[pasa]..(l. 5) [Vā]seṭhiputasa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Chātamūlasa sun[hā]ya [mahārāja-] (l. 6) sa Māḍha[ri]putasa[1] Ikhākunaṁ Sir-Vīrapurisadatasa bhayaya[2] ma-(l. 7)hārajasa Siri-E[huvuḷa-]Chātamūlasa[3] mātuya mahād[e]viya Bhaṭidevāya (l. 8)........[i]maṁ vihāro sava-jāta-niyuto[4] achariy[ā]naṁ Bahusutīyānaṁ (l. 9) patiṭhā[pito]....i ra pu naṁ budhiṇa[5]....[saṁvachharaṁ]..[bitiyaṁ] (l. 10) [gimha-pakhaṁ]...........sughāya ti[6]

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds.—Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Chātamūla, of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, *etc.*. (see above, sub C 3); (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata of the house of the Ikhākus; (*and who is*) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa (?)-Chātamūla, has erected......this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahusutīya sect.[7]

Detached Pillar inscription H.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato samā-saṁ- (l. 2) budhasa mahārajasa Vāseṭhiputasa (l. 3) Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Ehuvala-[Chāta]mūlasa sava 10[+*]1 (l. 4)....1 diva 7 mahārājasa Agihot-Āgidhoma- Vājaveja[8] (l. 5) Asamedha-yāvi(ji)sa [aneka-]hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa- (l. 6) hala-satasahasa-pad[ā]y[i]sa savathesu apatihata- (l. 7) saṁkapasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākuna-[ṁ] Siri-Ch[ā]tamūla[sa] (l. 8) nattiya mahārājasa Māṭhariputasa Siri-Virapurisa- (l. 9) datasa dhūtuya mahārājasa Vāseṭhiputasa Ikhākunaṁ (l. 10) Siri-Ehuvala-Ch[ā]tamūla-[sa] bhaginiyā Vānavāsaka-mahārāja- (l. 11) mahādeviya [Ko]ḍa[ba]lisiriya imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha (l. 12) achariyānaṁ Mahi[sā]sakānaṁ[9] suparigahe chātudisaṁ (l. 13) sa[ṁ]ghaṁ udisāya sava-satānaṁ hita-sukh[ā]thaṁ ṭhāpitaṁ achariye- (l. 14) na mahā-dhaṁma-kāthik[e]na Dhaṁma[gho]sa-[10]therena anuthitaṁ ti

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (*the reign of*) Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvala-[Chāta]mūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, the 1st (*fortnight of*..?), the 7th day. Mahādevi [Ko]ḍa[ba]lisiri, (*who is*) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa, Siri-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, *etc.*, (see above, C. 3); (*who is*) the daughter of Mahārāja Māṭharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; (*who is*) the sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvala-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; and (*who is*) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery

[1] The second *akshara* may be either *ḍa* or *dha*.

[2] This mutilated word can hardly be anything but *bhayāya*.

[3] The *aksharas -huvuḷa* are damaged owing to a crack, but *hu* is still legible.

[4] Or should we read *sava-jina-niyuto?* The *akshara* following *sava-* is certainly *jā*. In the other inscriptions we find *savaniyuto*.

[5] [..... *Virapunaṁbudhiṇa* . (proper name ?) *raño* °—Ed.]

[6] The date appears to have been followed by a benedictory formula such as *sava-loka-hita-sukhāya*.

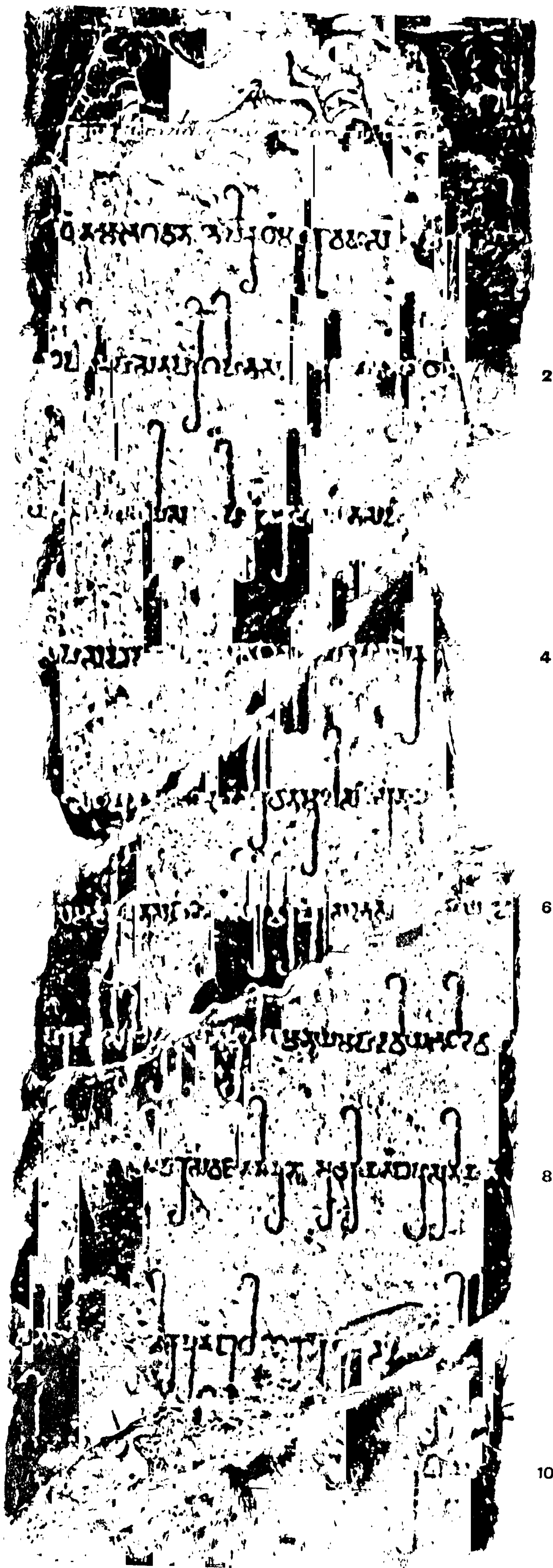
[7] Lines 9-10 seem to have contained a date, but are too much obliterated to allow of being deciphered.

[8] Read *Agnihotr-Agniṭhoma-Vājapeya*.

[9] The third syllable *sa* is still traceable.

[10] The third *akshara* has become very faint. At first I felt inclined to read *Dhaṁmayasa*, but the long horizontal base-stroke which is still clear rather suggests the letter *gha*.

G.



SCALE : ONE-QUARTER.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

H.

SCALE ONE-HALF.

for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahi[sā]saka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (*It has been*) carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the *thera* Dhamma[gho]sa.

Sculpture inscription J.[1]

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhasa Chhadakapavatich[e]na Paduma-[vā]-niya gharaniya sagaya saputakānaṁ Hagas[i]r[i]sa sagasa Nagatarasa cha sabhaja[sa] (l. 2) saputikāna[ṁ] cha deyadham[o] paṭo unisa cha mahāchetiye patiṭh[ā]vito

TRANSLATION.

Success. Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings.

A meritorious gift (*consisting of*) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavaticha, Padumavānī his house-wife, together with their sons Hagasiri and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters.

Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1)........saputak[ā]na[ṁ] cha Dhamasa Padumasa cha [Bha]dasa Hughasa saput-[i]k[ā]na[ṁ] cha....................had[ā]ya Budh[ā]ya Padumāya M[isā]ya Chula-Budh-[ā]ya N[ā]k[ā]ya cha saj[ā]m[ā]tuk[ā]na[ṁ] san[ā]tuk[ā]na[ṁ] sanat[i]na[ṁ] cha sanādi-m[i]ta-ba[ṁ]dhavāna[ṁ] cha deyadham[o] paṭa niba sapadaka.[2]....

TRANSLATION.

..........together with his[3] sons Dhama and Paduma, [Bha]da, Hugha and together with his daughters.........-hadā, Budhā, Padumā, Misā, Chula-Budhā, and Nākā, together with his sons-in-law, together with his grandsons and granddaughters and together with his relatives, friends, and kinsmen, a meritorious gift (consisting of) a slab ....

Postscript.

Extract from a letter dated Oslo, 2nd October, 1928, from Prof. Sten Konow, Ph.D.

"In the first place I should like to draw your attention—perhaps unnecessarily—to the suffix *aṇaka* in *Visākhaṇaka*, *Sāgaraṇṇaka*, formed from Visākha, Sāgara, respectively. This same suffix is frequent in names fro[m th]e Bombay Presidency; *cf.* Lüders, Nos. 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kaṇheri), 10[illegible] 10[illegible] 1[illegible] (Kuḍā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kārli), 1109, 1111, (Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junnar). It e[vide]ntly belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *kanda* means 'child' in Kanarese, and *chaḷi* 'cold.' *Chalikiremmaṇaka* probably is *Chalikiraṇaka*='Moon.' It also strikes me that Kanarese *kaṟṟambu* means 'envy.' I have not access to a Telugu dictionary. But it seems to me that Kanarese is more likely. The other characteristics which can be gleaned from your quotations do not help us. They show that we have to do with a Standard Prakrit, related to Pali, which was, as you know, used over a large territory. The change of *-p-* to *-v-* is

[1] The transcript and translation of inscriptions J and K should be regarded as provisional.

[2] Perhaps *sapāduka-paṭṭa*. [Perhaps the reading is '*paṭāni be sapādukāni*', meaning two slabs with foot-prints.—Ed.]

[3] His, her, or their, as the case may be.

general in most Prakrits and cannot be used for localizing the dialect. A similar language is also used in the Khāravēla inscriptions. I would therefore be inclined to define the dialect of your inscriptions as follows: We are faced with a normalized semi-literary Prakrit, used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikkhākus had come to the Kistna country from the West. But all such conclusions are bound to be uncertain. *Khaṁda* is, as you say, probably=*Skanda*, and *Chāṁta* might be *Kshānta*, but might also have something to do with Chāndaka, the designation of some actors from Mathurā (Lüders, No. 85)."

Glossary.

aga-pogala (J, l. 1), Pali *agga-puggala*=Skt. *agrya-pudgala*, an epithet of Buddha.

Agihot-Āgiṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa (passim), an epithet of Siri-Chāṁtamūla. *Cf.* *Aggitthoma-Vājapey-Āssamedha-yājī* in the Hīrahaḍagalli copper-plate grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 2 f. Also, *dvir-Aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ* in the Śuṅga inscription from Ayōdhyā. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. X, pp. 202 f.

a[chaṁta] (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *achchanta*=Skt. *atyanta*.

aṭhaṁga-maga-dhamachaka-pavataka (F, l. 1), *i.e.*, *aṭṭhaṅga-magga-dhammachakka-pavattaka*= Skt. *ashṭāṅga-mārga-dharmachakra-pravartaka*, an epithet of Buddha.

aṭhāra (D, l. 2), "eighteenth."

atichhita, *i.e.*, *atichchhita* (A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9, *etc.*,) always followed by *anāgata-vaṭamānake* or °*mānakānaṁ*. *Cf.* Pali *atichchhati* (Skt. *ati-ṛichchhati*) which is only preserved in the expression *atichchhatha bhante* "Please go on, Sir." The past participle *atichchhita*, therefore, stands for the usual *atīta*.

Aḍavi-Chātisiri (B, 2, l. 5), a personal name. The second *akshara* is possibly *ḍa*.

anuthitaṁ (H, l. 14). *Cf.* Pali *anuṭṭhita* (=Skt. *anushṭhita*), past participle of *anuṭṭhahati*, meaning "carried out, effected."

aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasa[hasa]-hala-satasahasa-padāyi (F, l. 1), *i.e.*, *aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasahassa-hala-satasahassa-ppadāyi*, epithet of Siri-Chāṁtamūla. *Cf.* *aneka-hiroṇa-koḍī-go-hala-satasahassa-ppadāyino* in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant, ll. 10-11, and *anēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharma-sañchayasya*............ *mahārāja-Śrī-Skandavarmmaṇaḥ* in the Pīkira grant of Siṁhavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 161 ll. 5-6. *Cf.* also *ti-go-satasahasadena* in Kārlē inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 57, and *tri-go-śatasahasradēna* in Nāsik inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 78.

aṁtevāsika (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), Pali *antevāsī*, *antevāsika* "a disciple."

savathesu apatihata-saṁkapa=Skt. *sarvārtheshu apratihata-saṁkalpa*, epithet of Siri-Chāṁtamūla. *Cf.* *appatihata-sāsaṇassa* in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant, l. 10.

Aparamahāvinaseliya (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8; E, l. 2), name of a Buddhist sect. See above, p. 10. The name presumably is identical with Pali Aparaseliya, Skt. Aparaśailīya, a subdivision of the Theravāda. *Cf.* M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* p. 7; but *cf.* p. 21.

ayaka (F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *ayyaka*=Skt. *āryaka*.

ayikā (F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *ayyikā*=Skt. *āryikā*.

ayira-haṁgha (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10)=Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*. *Cf.* *ayira*, *aira* in Amarāvatī inscriptions, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1276 and 1280.

ayu-vaḍhanike vejayike (E, l. 1). *Cf.* *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vaḍhanike vijaya-vejayike* "while he made (*the gift*) a means of the increase of the merit

longevity, power and fame of (*his*) own family and race." (Bühler) in the Hīra-haḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, l. 9, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6; *amha-vejayike [dhaṁ]m-āyu-bala-vadhanike* "for conferring on ourselves victory (*in war*) and for increasing (*our*) merit, length of life, and power". (Hultzsch) in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 87; *amhaṁ āyu-bala-vaddhanīyaṁ-kātūṇa* "making (*it*) a means for increasing our length of life and power." (Hultzsch) in the British Museum plate of Chārudēvī, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 146. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is found in the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasena II (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 238 and 246) and in the Uruvapalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 52). *Cf.* also *chhatrapasa saputra-darasa ayu-bala-vardhie* in the Taxila plate of Patika (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 56) and *J. R. A. S.* for 1924, p. 402.

alaṁdā (F, l. 3), perhaps Skt. *alinda* m. "a terrace in front of the house-door," Pali *ālinda* "a terrace or verandah outside a house." *Mahāvagga*, VI, 36, 4= *Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg) Vol. I, pp. 247 f.; *Chullavagga*, VI, 3, 5 and 14, 1=*Vin. Piṭ.*, Vol. II, pp. 153 and 169. The *ālinda* is not necessarily a terrace or verandah *outside* a building, as is proved by *Mahāvaṁsa* XXXV, 3, *Tatheva Lohapāsāde Thūpārāmūposathavhaye kuchchhi-ājiraṁ kāresi kuchchhi ālindam eva cha* "He made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah in the Lohapāsāda." *Cf.* P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 54 ff., and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 252.

ācharya (C 1, ll. 10 and 11), written with short initial *a* in line 8 of inscription C 2 =Skt. *āchārya*, Pali *āchariya*, "a teacher."

Ānaṁda (C. 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), *i.e.*, *Ānanda*, a personal name.

Ikhāku, *i.e.*, *Ikkhāku*=Skt. *Ikshvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, the legendary progenitor of the Solar race.

Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṁsa-saṁbhava (F, l. 1)=Skt. *Ikshvāku-rāja-pravara-rshi-śata-prabhava-vaṁśa-saṁbhava*, an epithet of the Buddha.

udisāya (H, l. 13). *Cf.* Skt. *uddiśya*, Pali *uddissa* (absol. of *ud-disati*) "to point out", "on behalf of, on account of."

uṇisa (J, l. 2)=Skt. *ushṇīsha*, "a coping-stone." Frequently met with in Amarāvatī inscriptions. The word appears to designate not only the coping-stone which forms the crowning member of the railing enclosing the *stūpa*, but also the frieze running along the top of the sculptured facing of such a monument. *Cf.* Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (A 3, l. 8, *etc.*, passim) and ***ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-ā-vahathanāya*** (B 2, l. 5). *Cf.* Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 229.

ubhayita (B 5, l. 6), *i.e.*, *ubbhayita*=Skt. **ūrdhvayita* from *ubbha*=Skt. *ūrdhva*. *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 300.

uvarivaṁṇi[taṁ] (F, l. 3)=Skt. *uparivarṇitam*.

uvāsikā (F, l. 2)=Skt. *upāsikā*.

ovaraka (F, l. 3) "a cell"=Skt. **apavaraka*. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*; *Index* s.v. *apavaraka*, *uyaraka*, *uvavaraka*, *ovaraka*.

Kaṁdasiri (A 2, l. 6, *etc.*, passim), a personal name.

Kaṁṭabudhiṇa (F, l. 2), a personal name.

kavaṇa (A 3, l. 6; *etc.*,)=Skt. *kṛipaṇa*, Pali *kapaṇa*, "poor, miserable, wretched, a beggar."

Kulahaka (B 4, l. 3), name of a clan.

Kulaha-vihāra (F, l. 3), name of a monastery.

koṭh[ā]kārika (F, l. 2)=Skt. *kōshṭhāgārika*. "a treasurer, a superintendent of a royal store house." *Cf. koṭhagala* in Sohgaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937).

[Ko]ḍa[ba]lisiri (H, l. 11), a personal name.

khaṇiga (H, l. 12) "a pillar" (?). *Cf.* Pali *khāṇu*. Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, sub *Corrigenda*, p. 622, under *khāṇu*.

Khaṁḍa, *i.e.*, *Khaṇḍa* (in personal names)=Skt. *Skanda*.

Khaṁḍachalikiremmaṇaka (B 4, l. 4), a personal name. Dr. Sten Konow suggests Kanarese *chalikiraṇaka*=moon, from Kanarese *chaḷi*=cold.

Khaṁḍaviśākhaṇaka (B 2, l. 4)=Skt. *Skanda-viśākha*, a personal name.

Khaṁḍasāgara[ṁ]ṇaka (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*,) and *Khaṁḍasāgaraṁnaga* (E, l. 1)=Skt. ***Skanda-sāgara***, a personal name.

khaṁbha, *i.e.*, *khambha* (passim), "a pillar," from Vedic ***skambha***. ***Cf.*** Pischel, ***Grammatik***, § 306. Also in *sela-khambha* (*q.v.*).

gahapati (F, l. 2)=Skt. *gṛihapati*.

gharaṇī (J, l. 1)=Skt. *gṛihiṇī*.

chaka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇa (F, l. 1)=Skt. *chakra-lakshaṇa*°, an epithet of the Buddha.

Chaṁdamukha (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

Chaṁdamukhana (F, l. 2); *cf.* Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

Chāṁtamūla; see. *Siri-Chāṁtamūla*.

Chāṁtisiri (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim) or *Chāṁtisiriṇikā* (B 5, l. 5), a personal name.

chātudisa saṁgha (H, ll. 12-13)=Skt. *chāturdiśaḥ saṅghaḥ*.

chātusala (E, l. 2), *i.e.*, *chatussāla*, Skt. *chatuḥśāla*, Pali ***chatussāla***, "a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard, a cloister or quadrangle." ***Cf. Mṛichchhakaṭikā*** (ed. Stenzler) p. 46, l. 20; *vihāraṁ sachatuḥśālam*; ***Rājat.*** III. 13; *Mahāvaṁsa* XV, 47 and 50; XXXV, 88; Nāsik Cave (No. 10) Inscription, L. 2, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78. Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

Chula-Chaṁdamukha (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Chandramukha*, a personal name.

Chula-Chātisiriṇikā (B 4, l. 5), a personal name.

Chula-Budhā (K)=Skt. *Kshudra-Buddhā*, a personal name.

Chula-Mūla (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Mūla*, a personal name.

chetiya-ghara (E, l. 1 and F. ll. 2 and 3)=Skt. *chaitya-gṛiha*, "an apsidal temple or Chaitya-hall." The term seems to be employed synonymously with ***sela-maṁḍava***. The word ***chetiya-ghara*** is frequently met with in inscriptions and applies equally to structural and rock-cut shrines. *Cf.* Lüders, ***List, Index*** and ***Mahāvaṁsa*** XXXI, 52.

chhaṭha (E, l. 2; F, l. 2), *i.e.*, ***chhaṭṭha*** "sixth"=Skt. ***shashṭha***.

chhaṭhi, *i.e.*, ***chhaṭṭhī***, in the personal name *Chhaṭhisiri* (C 4, l. 6).

Chhadakapavaticha (J, l. 1), a personal name (?) *Cf.* below under "Geographical Terms."

jām[ā]tukasa (E, l. 1)=Skt. *jāmātṛikasya*.

jua-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosa-sad[1]*[ā]pita-Māra-****bala-dapa-māna-pasamana-kara*** (F, l 1)=Skt. *jita-kāma-krōdha-bhaya-harsha-tarsha-****mōha-dvēsha-śabdāpita-Māra-bala-darpa-praśamana-kara***, an epithet of the Buddha.

[1] [See footnote 1 on page 22, above.—Ed.]

jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamuta (A 2, l. 2, *etc.*,)=Skt.*jita-rāga-dvēsha-mōha-vipramukta*, epithet of the Buddha. Rāga, dosa, moha, "lust, hatred, and delusion" are the three Aggis, Kiñchanas, or Akusala-mūlas symbolised in the centre of the "Wheel of Existence" by three animals: a dove or cock, a snake and a hog.

tarisa (E, l. 1)=Skt. *tarsha* "thirst."

taruṇa-divasakara-pabha (F, l. 1)=Skt. °*prabha*, an epithet of the Buddha.

taḷāka (F, l. 3)=Skt. *taḍāga*, "a tank or cistern."

tiṇi (F, l. 3), instr. *tiṁhi*, (F, l. 3) "three."

tera (F, l. 1) "thirteenth."

teloka-dhaṁma-dhurā-vaha (G, l. 1)=Skt. *trailōkya-dharma-dhurā vaha*, an epithet of the Buddha.

thaṁbha in *sela-thaṁbha* (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *stambha*, Pali *thambha* "a pillar, a column, a stele."

thera, combined with personal names (F, ll. 3-4; H, l. 14)=Skt. *sthavira*, Pali *thera*, "a senior monk, an elder."

theriya (F, l. 1), derived from *thera*, adj. "belonging to *theras*," subst. "fraternity, community."

daṁsana (F, l. 1)=Skt. *darśana*, Pali *dassana*. *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik*, §135.

dasabala-mahābala (F, l. 1)=Skt. *daśabala-mahābala*, an epithet of the Buddha.

dināri-māsaka (B 5, l. 6); Skt. *dīnāra*, from Latin *denarius*, "an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman Denarius" and Skt. *māsha(ka)*, "a certain weight and monetary value." *Manu* VIII, 135, 298, 392.

divasa (E, l. 2)=Skt. *divasa*. Elsewhere (C 2, l. 11) abbreviated as *diva*.

Dīgha-Majhima-pa[ṁ]cha-māṭuka-desaka-vāchaka, and *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dhara* (C 1, ll. 11-12 and C 2, ll. 9-10); corrected reading. *Cf.* *Vinaya-dhara* and *Mahāvinaya-dhara* in Amarāvatī inscriptions. Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 37, No. VIII, and p. 102, No. 25. The word *-dhara* in these compounds must have the same meaning as Arabic *ḥāfiẓ* "one who has the whole Qur'ān by heart."

duhutā (B, l. 3)=Skt. *duhitā* "a daughter", gen., instr. sing., *dhūtuya*, (F, l. 3; H, l. 9).

deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desika (F, l. 1)=Skt. *dēva-manushya-sarva-sattva-hita-sukha-mārga-dēśika*, an epithet of the Buddha.

devarāja-sakata (A 2, l. 1, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *dēvarāja-satkṛita*, an epithet of the Buddha.

-desaka (C 1, l. 11 "*osaka*"; C 2, l. 9 "*desa*") "a preacher".

Dhanaka (B 2, l. 4), a clan name.

Dhaṁma (K, l. 1)=Skt. *Dharma*, a personal name.

Dhaṁma[ghosa] (H, l. 14)=Skt. *Dharmaghōsha*, a personal name.

Dhaṁmanaṁdi (F, l. 4), *i.e.*, *Dhammanandi*, a personal name.

dhātuvara-parigahita (B 4, l. 3, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *dhātuvara-parigṛihīta* "absorbed by the best of elements (*dhātu*), *i.e.*, by Nirvāṇa".[1]

natu (K) in *sanatuka*, *i.e.*, *sanattuka*=Skt. *sanaptṛika*.

natī (H, l. 8)=Skt. *naptṛī*, "a grand-daughter".

[1] The above interpretation I owe to the courtesy of M. L. de la Vallée Poussin, who adds: "If the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsanghikas, a conjectural explanation of *dhātuvara* as *Dharmadhātu* would not be excluded. The *Dharmadhātu* was sometimes a kind of Buddhist Brahman for the followers of the Mahāyāna."

[To me it does not appear to be impossible that the Mahāchetiya has been specified in these inscriptions as 'protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha' and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stūpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Inscription E gives *dhātu-pari*° only.—Ed.]

navakama and *navakamma* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11; F, l. 3)=Skt. *navakarman*, Pali *navakamma*, "a religious building dedicated by some lay-member to the Saṅgha". The procedure by which a superintendent of works (*navakammika*) is appointed by the chapter of *Bhikkhus* in order to supervise the construction of a *navakamma* is described in *Chullavagga* VI, 5=*Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, pp. 159 f. (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, pp. 189 ff.). "If the buildings were for the Bhikkhus, then a Bhikkhu, if for the Bhikkhunīs, then a Bhikkhunī, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments". *Cf.* also *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* I, 1=*Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. IV, p. 211. The word *navakamma* frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions.

navakammika (F, l. 3) "a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhunī appointed by the Chapter as a superintendent of the building operations of a *navakamma*, (see preceding article). *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, Nos. 154, 773, 987 and 1250. A synonymous term is *kamm-ādhiṭṭhāyaka*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXX, 98.

Nākā (K)=Skt. *Nāgā*, a personal name.

Nāga (F, l. 4)=Skt. *Nāga*, a personal name.

Nāgatara (J, l. 1), a personal name.

Nāgaṁna (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Nigobodhinikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

nānā-desa-samanāgata (E, l. 2) "assembled (?) from various countries".

nikapanika (E, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning.

nithapita or *niṭhapita* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11), Pali *niṭṭhāpita*, past participle of *niṭṭhāpeti*, "to complete", *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXI, 1, 2. *Cf.* Pali *niṭṭhita* completed, *thūpe aniṭṭhite yeva*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXIX, 53; *thūpe aniṭṭhitaṁ kammaṁ niṭṭhāpehi* *ibid.*, XXXII, 2.

nivāṇa-saṁpatti-saṁpādake (A 3, l. 9, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *nirvāṇa-saṁpatti-saṁpādakē*.

paṁchama (E, l. 2) "fifth".

paṭa (J, l. 2 and K) "a slab." Frequently in Amarāvatī inscriptions; see Lüders, *List*, *Index*. Also in compound *sapaṭa-saṁthara* (F, l. 2), "with a floor of (*stone*) slabs".

paṭibhāga (A 2, ll. 6-7, *etc.*, passim) in compound *samaṇa-baṁhaṇa*°. The word corresponds with Skt. *pratibhāga*,[1] Pali *paṭibhāga*=counterpart, likeness. But the word wanted here is *apaṭibhāga*, Pali *appaṭibhāga* "unequalled, unparalleled, matchless."

patiṭhapita (A 3, l. 9), *i.e.*, *patiṭhāpita*, Skt. *pratishṭhāpita* "erected, set up, dedicated".

Paduma (K)=Skt. *Padma*, a personal name.

Padumavāni (J, l. 1), a personal name.

Padumā (K)=Skt. *Padmā*, a personal name.

padhāna-sālā (F, l. 3)=Skt. *pradhāna-śālā*, "a hall for practising religious exercises", from Pali *padhāna* "exertion, energetic effort, striving, concentration of mind". *Cf.* *padhāna-ma*[*ṁḍa*]*vo* in Amarāvatī inscriptions. Burgess, *Amarāvati Stupa*, p. 105, No. 49; Lüders, *List*, No. 1230 and correction, p. 179.

parigaha (E, l. 2)=Skt. *parigraha*, Pali *pariggaha*, "grace, favour."

parigahita or *parigahita* in *dhātuvara-parigahita* (*q.v.*) and *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahita* (*q.v.*). The meaning of *parigahita* in these two compounds appears to be "absorbed by[2]".

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[1] [But Skt. *pratibhāga* means 'gift' or 'share' also.—Ed.]

[2] ["protected by".—Ed.]

parināmetuna[ṁ] passim, *absolutivum* of *parināmeti*=Skt. *pariṇāmayati*, Pali *pariṇāmeti* (caus. of *pariṇamati*) "to bend to, to change into, to turn to use for somebody, to apportion, to destine." *Mahādevi Bapisiriṇikā apano mātaraṁ Haṁmasiriṇikaṁ parināmetuna* (C 2, l. 7) and *Mahādevi Chhaṭhisiri apano mātaraṁ Haṁmasiriṇikaṁ parināmetuna* (C 4, l. 7). It is clear that *parināmetuna* is used here in the same sense as *purato katūnaṁ* in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions: *apano mātaraṁ Nāgaliniṁ purato katūnaṁ* "having associated [with him] his mother Nāgalini" (Bühler). In the expression *apano ubhaya-kulaṁ parināmetuna* (B 2, l. 5; C 1, l. 8; C 5, l. 4) it is also used with the object in the accusative. Elsewhere we find *apano ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānake* or *vaṭamānakānaṁ* in which the connection with the *absolutivum parināmetuna* is not clear. *Cf.* Buddhist Skt. *pariṇāmayati* (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 81 and 309).

pavajita (E, l. 1), *i.e.*, *pavvajita*,=Skt. *pravrajita*, Pali *pabbajita*.

pas[ā]daka (E, l. 1)=Skt. *prasādaka*, Pali *pasādaka* "converting to the Buddhist faith".

pāsāda in *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (F, l. 3) *q.v.*

pituchhā (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim)=Pali *pituchchhā*: "a father's sister, a paternal aunt". *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 148.

pituno (F, l. 2) gen. sing.=Skt. *pituḥ*.

puva-dāra (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *puvva-dāra*=Skt. *pūrva-dvāra* "the eastern gate or entrance". The word *dāra* is frequently met with in Amarāvatī inscriptions. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, *Index*, under *dvāra*.

puva-disā-bhāga (F, l. 2)=Skt. *pūrva-diśā-bhāga*.

Pūkiya, *Pukiya* (A 2, l. 6; C 3, l. 7; C 5, l. 2), *Pugiya* (E, l. 1), a clan name.

Bapisiriṇikā (C 2, l. 6), a personal name. *Cf.* Bapisirī in Lüders, *List*, No. 1213 (Amarāvatī inscription) and names like Bappuka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 282), Bappārya (*Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 243), Bappasvāmin (*ibidem*, p. 105) and Bāppadēva (*ibidem*, p. 249), Bappikā (*Rājat.* VII, 1128).

Bahusutīya (G, l. 8)=Skt. *Bahuśrutīya*, Pali *Bahussutīya*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Gōkulika sect which belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas. *Cf.* M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 6 and 21.

bālikā (B 4, l. 3; B 5, l. 3 *ex conjectura*; C 2, l. 6; C 4, l. 5).

Budhaṁṇikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Budhaṁṇiki[nā] (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Budhā (K), a personal name.

Budhinaka (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Budhi[vā]miya (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Bodhi (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhi*, a personal name.

Bodhika (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhika*, a personal name.

Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Bōdhi-vriksha-prāsāda*, Pali *Bodhi-rukkha-ppāsāda*, "a shrine of the Bodhi-tree." G. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 212.

Bodhisaṁma (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhiśarman*, a personal name. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, No. 1200.

Bodhisiri (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhiśrī*, a personal name.

bhagini (A 3, l. 5, *etc.*, passim), instr. sing. *bhaginiyā* (H, l. 10)=Skt. *bhaginī* "sister".

bhajaṁt-Ānaṁdena (C 1, l. 12) and *bhadaṁt-Ānaṁdena* (C 2, l. 10)=Skt. *bhadant-Ānandēna* "by the Reverend Ānanda".

Bhaṭidevā (G, l. 7), a personal name.

bhatuno, gen. sing. (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhartuḥ*.
Bhada (F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *Bhadda*=Skt. *Bhadra*, a personal name.
Bhadasiri (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Bhaddasirī*=Skt. *Bhadraśrī*, a personal name.
bhariyā (A 2, l. 6, *etc.*, passim) and *bhayā* (B 2, l. 4; B 4. l. 5)=Skt. *bhāryā*, Pali *bhariyā*.
bhāgineya (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhāgineya*, "a sister's son".
bhātuno (F, l. 3) gen. sing.=Skt. *bhrātuḥ*; *bhātunaṁ*, gen. plur.=Skt. *bhrātṛīṇām*.
bhātu-puta (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhrātṛi-putra*, "a brother's son".
Majhima-nikāya, see *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya*.
maṁḍava, *maṁḍava* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *maṇḍapa*.
Mahākaṁdasiri (C 5, l. 2), a personal name. *Cf. Kaṁdasiri*.
mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṁdha-hathi (A 2. l. 2, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *mahāgaṇi-vṛishabha-gandha-hastin*, an epithet of the Buddha. For *mahāgaṇi cf. Mahāvaṁsa* XXIX, 30.
Mahā-Chaṁdamukha (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Chandramukha*, a personal name.
Mahācheti̇ya and *Mahāchetiya* (A 2, l. 3, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *Mahāchaitya*, "Great Chaitya," loc. sing. *Mahāchetiyaṁhi* (C 4. l. 2, *ex conjectura*).
mahātalavara (A 2, l. 6, *etc.*, passim), a title of uncertain meaning, evidently denoting "a high dignitary or a feudal lord". See above, p. 6.
mahātalavari (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim), "the wife of a *mahātalavara*".
mahādaṁḍanāyaka (B 2, l. 4)=Skt. *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* "a high, probably judicial, official". *Cf. J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 402.
mahādānapatini (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. **mahādānapatnī* "a mistress of munificence" an epithet of Chāṁtisiri. *Cf. mahādānapati* in Taxila plate inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 56.
mahādevī (B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 6; G, l. 7; H, l. 11), a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief.
mahādhaṁmakathika (H, l. 14)=Skt. *mahādharmakāthika* "a great preacher of the Law." *Cf.* Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 94.
mahābhikhu-saṁgha (E, l. 1), *i.e.*, *mahābhikkhu-saṅgha*.
mahāmātukā (F, l. 2). *Cf.* Pali *mahāmātā* "a grandmother".
Mahā-Mūla (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Mūla*, a personal name.
mahāvihāra (B 5, l. 5; F, l. 3).
mahāsenāpati (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *mahāsēnāpati*, lit. "Commander-in-Chief" but here used as a title designating a feudal lord. According to the late Dr. Fleet it "denotes equal rank with Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta." (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, n.). See above, p. 6.
mahāsenāpatini (B 4, l. 5), Skt. **mahāsēnāpatnī* "the wife of a *mahāsēnāpati*".
Mahi[sā]saka (G, l. 12), Skt. *Mahiśāsaka*, Pali *Mahiṁsāsaka*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Theravādins and appears to have flourished in the Āndhra country. *Cf.* M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 7 and 22.
Māḍharīputa (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim) and *Māṭharīputa* (E, l. 1; F. l. 1; H, l. 8)=Skt. *Māṭharīputra*, metronymic of Siri-Vīrapurisadata.
mātā (A 5, l. 7, *etc.*, passim) "mother", acc. sing. *mātaraṁ* (C 2, l. 7; C 4, l. 7); instr. and gen. sing. *mātuya* (F, l. 2; G, l. 7).
mātuka, see *paṁcha-mātuka*.
Misi (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Missī*=Skt. *Miśrī*, a personal name

Mūla (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Mūlaṁnikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Mūlavāniya (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā (B 5, l. 3)=Skt. *Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā*, a personal name of a queen, probably belonging to the ruling house of Ujjayinī. See above, p. 4.

Revata (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Revatiṁnikā (F, l. 2), a personal name.

-vaḍhāki (F, l. 4)=Skt. *vardhaki*, Pali *vaḍḍhaki*, Hindi *baṛhaī*, "a carpenter, builder, architect, mason." *Cf. vaḍhaki* in Karle inscription, Lüders, *List*, No. 1092 and *vaḍakin* in Sānchi inscription, *ibidem*, No. 495. In inscr. F, l. 4 the word occurs in the compound *sela-vaḍhāki*=Skt. *śaila-vardhaki*, "a stone-mason." *Cf.* Pali *iṭṭhakā-vaḍḍhaki* "a brick-mason," *Mahāvaṁsa* XXIX, 5, 30 and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 272.

vaṇija(ka) (A 3, l. 6, *etc.*, passim)=Buddhist Sanskrit *vanīyaka*, *vanīpaka* "a beggar, a mendicant." Examples: *Dēva na hy=ēsha Kunālō='ndhaka ēsha vanīpakaḥ patnyā saha dēvasya yānaśālāyām=avasthitaḥ*, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 414, l. 18; *Mahākāśyapō dīn-ānātha-kṛipaṇa-vanīyak-ānukampī*, *Divy.*, p. 83, l. 19; *brāhmaṇaṁ vā śramaṇaṁ vā anyaṁ v=āpi, vanīyakam*, *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 188, l. 14.

-vathava (C 1, l. 11; F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *vatthavva*=Skt. *vāstavya* "residing at".

vāchaka (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 9, restored), "a preacher".

Vāsiṭhiputa (A 2, l. 3, *etc.*, passim) and *Vāseṭhiputa* (G, l. 5; H, ll. 7 and 9), *i.e.*, *Vāsiṭṭhīputta*=Skt. *Vāsishṭhīputra*, metronomic of Siri-Chāṁtamūla, Kaṁdasiri, Khaṁdachalikireṁmaṇaka (?) (B 4, l. 4) and Siri-Ehuvala-Chātamūla (H, l. 9).

Viṇhusiri (C 5, l. 3)=Skt. Vishṇuśrī, a personal name. *Cf.* Vinhukā in Sānchi inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

Vidhika (F, l. 4), a personal name.

Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahita (A 2, l. 3, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *Virūpākshapati-Mahāsēna-parigṛihīta*, an epithet of Siri-Chāṁtamūla. In the *Milindapañha*, pp. 6 ff., Mahāsēna figures as a *devaputta* who becomes incarnate in the sage Nāgasēna.

vihāra (F, l. 2; G, l. 8; H, l. 11), "a monastery".

Viraṁna (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Vīra[ṁ]nikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

velāmi(ka) (B 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim; once *vailāmika* A 4, l. 7) in compound *samaṇa-baṁhaṇa-°*. The word appears to be an adjective meaning, "belonging to Velāma." Buddha (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228; Cambridge translation, Vol. I, p. 101) refers to the time of Velāma when he (Buddha) "stirred up all India by giving the seven things of price, and in [his] largesse poured them forth as though [he] had made into one mighty stream the five great rivers." He then preached the Velāmaka-Sutta (*Velāmaka-Suttaṁ kathesi*) which is also mentioned in *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 234, l. 11. It would seem, that Velāma was a legendary personage renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence like Vessantara with whom his name is combined in *Vibhaṅgaṭṭha-kathā*, p. 414, l. 6. Mr. Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to a passage in *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 394-396 where the Buddha praises the liberality of a Brahmin Velāma with whom he identifies himself in a previous birth.

vochhina, *i.e.*, *vochchhinna* (A 2, l. 7, *etc.*, passim) in compound *samaṇa-baṁhaṇa-°*=Skt. *vyavachchhinna*, past participle of *vyavachchhinatti*, passive *vyavachchhidyatē*, Pali

vochhijjate "to be cut off". The word wanted here evidently is ***avochhina***, Pali *abbochchhinna*, *abbhochchhinna* "not cut off, uninterrupted, continuous".

saṁvachhara (E, l. 2)=Skt. *saṁvatsara*, "a year". Elsewhere (A 3, l. 9, *etc.*, passim) abbreviated as *saṁva*, or *saṁ* (E, l. 2).

sata (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *satta*,=Skt. *sapta*, "seven".

satari-sataṁ (B 5, l. 6), *i.e.*, *sattari-sataṁ* "one hundred and seventy." *Cf.* Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 60.

saṁthara in *sapaṭa-saṁtharaṁ* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *saṁstara*, Pali *santhara*, *santhāra* "a layer, stratum, couch, flooring". *Cf.* *Mahāvaṁsa* XXX, 70.

samaṇa-bamhaṇa-kavaṇa-vaṇija[ka]-dīn-ānugaha-velāmi[ka]-dāna-paṭibhāga-vochhina-dhāra-padāyini (A 3, ll. 6-7, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kṛpaṇa-vaṇīyaka-dīn-ānugṛiha-vailāmika-dān-āpratibhāg-āvyavachhinna-dhāra-pradāyinī*, an epithet of Chāṁtisiri. *Cf.* above, under *kavaṇa*, *vaṇija(ka)*, *velāmi(ka)*, *paṭibhāga*, and *vochhina*.

saṁma-saṁbudha (A 2, l. 1)=Skt. *samyak-saṁbuddha*, Pali *sammā-saṁbuddha* "perfectly enlightened, a universal Buddha".

samuthapiyamāna (B 5, l. 6)=Skt. *samutthāpyamāna*, present participle passive of *samutthāpayati*, Pali *samutthāpeti* "to found, originate".

sarada-sasi-soma-darisana (F, l. 1)=Skt. *śārada-śaśi-saumya-darśana-*, an epithet of the Buddha.

savaṁñu, gen. *savaṁñuno* (A 2, l. 1, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *sarvajña*, Pali *sabbaññu* "omniscient", an epithet of the Buddha.

sava-niyuta (E, l. 2; F, l. 2; *cf.* *sava-jāta(?)-niyuta* G, l. 8), *i.e.*, *savva-niyutta*=Skt. *sarva-niyukta*.

sava-loka-chita-mahita (F, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-lōka-chitta-mahita-*, an epithet of the Buddha.

sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya (C 1, l. 9; C 3, l. 12), *cf.* *ubhaya-loka-hita-°*.

sava-sat-ānukaṁpaka (A 2, l. 1, *etc.*, passim), *i.e.*, *savva-satt-ānukampaka*=Skt. *sarva-sattv-ānukampaka*, an epithet of the Buddha.

sava-sādhu-vachhalā (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, passim)=Skt. *sarva-sādhu-vatsalā*, an epithet of Chāṁtisiri.

[*sā*]*dhu-vaga* (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *sādhu-vagga*=Skt. *sādhu-varga*.

Siri-Ehuvala-(Ehuvuḷa-) Chātamūla (G, l. 7, H, ll. 3 and 10), a personal name.

Siri-Chāṁtamūla (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim), a personal name. Sometimes *Chātamūla*.

Siri-Vīrapurisadata (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim) *-Vīra-* (E, l. 2 and G, l. 6)=Skt. *Śrī-Vīrapurushadatta*, a personal name.

suṁnhā (F, l. 3, G, l. 5)=Skt. *snushā*, Pali *suṇisā*, *suṇhā* "a daughter-in-law."

supabudha-bodhi (B 5, l. 1)=Skt. *suprabuddha-bōdhi*, an epithet of the Buddha.

suparigaha (F, l. 1; H, l. 11)=Skt. *suparigraha*, "grace, acceptance".

suparigahita (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *suparigṛihīta*, Pali *supariggahita*, "well favoured, graced, *i.e.*, accepted by."

sela-khaṁbha (B 4, l. 6; B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 8; C 5, l. 5)=Skt. *śaila-skambha* "a stone pillar." *Cf.* above, under *khaṁbha*.

sela-thaṁbha (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *śaila-stambha*, "a stone pillar." *Cf.* above, under *thaṁbha*.

sela-maṁṭava (E, l. 2) and *sela-maṁḍava* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *śaila-maṇḍapa*, "a stone shrine".

sela-vaḍhāki (F, l. 4); see above, under *vaḍhāki*.

sōdarā-bhaginī (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim) and once *sahodar[ā]-bhaginī* (E, l. 2) "a sister born from the same womb"; gen. sing. *sodarāya bhaginiya* (C 2, l. 5).

soma (F, l. 1)=Skt. ***saumya***, Pali ***somma***,

Hagasiri (J, l. 1), a personal name. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, No. 1284.

Haghaṁna (F, l. 2), from Skt. *saṅgha* (?), a personal name.

Haṁgha, i.e., Haṅgha,=Skt. *Saṅgha*, in personal names. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1240, 1262, 1271, 1272, 1274, 1281.

Haṁmasirinikā (C 2, ll. 5 and 7; C 4, ll. 5 and 7) or *Haṁmasiri* (C 4, l. 5), a personal name.

harisa (F, l. 1)=Skt. *harsha.*

Hiraṁñaka, i.e., Hiraññaka (B 4, l. 4), a clan name.

hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi (A 2, l. 4, *etc.*, passim); see *aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-°.*

Hugha (K, l. 1)=Skt. *Sukha* (?), a personal name.

hemaṁta-pakha (E, l. 2; F, l. 1)=Skt. *hēmanta-paksha.*

Geographical names.

Avaraṁta (F, l. 1), *i.e., Avaranta*, Skt. *Aparānta(ka)*, Pali *Aparanta(ka)*, a country of the Western coast of the Peninsula, corresponding to the Northern Konkan, the capital of which was *Sōpārā*, the ancient *Śūrpāraka.*[1] Aparanta is mentioned in Rock-Edict V of Aśoka in connection with the appointment of *dhaṁma-mahāmātas*, in Nāsik Cave III inscr. among the dominions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60) and in the Junāgaḍh rock-inscription of Rudradāman. It was converted by Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 7. *Mahāvaṁsa* XII, 4 and 34. *Cf.* also *Milinda.* p. 331, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 965, 1013 A[pa]rāṁtikā (?), 1123. Skt. *Aparāntaka. Cf. Raghu.* IV, 53.

Ujenikā (B 5, l. 3, *ex conjectura* for "*Ujanikā*"), *i.e., Ujjenikā*, adj. from *Ujjeni*, Skt. *Ujjayinī*, Pali *Ujjenī*, Gr. Ὀζήνη (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 63), modern Ujjain, a famous town in Central India.

Kaṁṭakasela (F, l. 3, *ex conjectura* for "*Kaṁṭakasola*"), *i.e., Kaṇṭakasela*, Skt. *Kaṇṭa-kaśaila*, Gr. Κανταχοσσύλα ἐμπόριον (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15) a town in Maisolia. See above, p. 8.

Kasmira (F, l. 1) Skt. *Kaśmīra*, Pali *Kasmira*, modern Kashmir, a country in the Western Himālaya. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

Gaṁdhāra (F, l. 1), *i.e., Gandhāra*, Skt. Pali *Gandhāra*, the Trans-Indus country and the district of Taxila. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

Govagāma (F, l. 2), Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?). The ancient name of the town Goa on the West Coast is Govapurī, Skt. Gōpakapurī. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 117. *Jour. Bombay Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.), but here some other locality appears to be meant.

Chilāta (F, l. 1), Skt. *Kirāta*, Mahārāshṭrī *Chilāda*, *Chilāa*, Ardhamāgadhī *Chilāya*, Gr. Κιρράδαι (*Periplus*, § 62; Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2), Κιρραδία (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 16) and Τιλάδαι (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 15), an un-Aryan tribe frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. *Cf. Milinda.* pp. 327 and 331. (Read *Chilāta* instead of *Vilāta*).

China (F, l. 1, coupled with *Chilāta*), name of a country and its inhabitants.

Chula-Dhaṁmagiri (F, l. 2), see *Dhaṁmagiri.*

[1] *Cf.* Jarl Charpentier *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, pp. 111 *sq.* and *ibid.*, 1928, p. 410.

Chhadakapavat[i]cha (J, l. 1), perhaps an adjective from *Chhadakapavata*. *Cf.* [*Chhada*]-*kicha* "an inhabitant of Chhadaka" (?) Lüders, *List*, No. 1220 (Amarāvatī).

Taṁbapaṁṇi-dīpa, *i.e.*, *Tambapaṇṇi-dīpa* and adj. *Taṁbapaṁṇaka* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Tāmraparṇa-dvīpa*, Gr. Ταπροβάνη (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 1), the Island of Ceylon.

Tosali (F, l. 1), a country and town on the coast of Kaliṅga, mentioned in the two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli and two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district (*Ep. Ind.*, Vols. IX, p. 286 and XV, p. 1); Τωσάλη μητρόπολις erroneously located by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 23) in Trans-Gangetic India. Perhaps identical with Δωσάρα (Ptolemy, VII, i, 77) and Δωσαρηνή (*Periplus*, 47). *Cf.* above, p. 7.

Damila (F, l. 1, reading uncertain), Skt. *Draviḍa*, Pali *Damiḷa*, the Tamiḻ country and people on the coast of Coromandel.

Devagiri (F, l. 3), a hill (?), site of a *padhāna-sālā* founded by Bodhisiri.

Dhaṁmagiri (*Mahā-* and *Chula-* in F, ll. 2 and 3), *i.e.*, *Dhammagiri* Skt. *Dharmagiri*, a hill. The Chula-Dhaṁmagiri was the site of a monastery, where Bodhisiri founded the *chetiya-ghara* or apsidal shrine mentioned in inscr. F. It appears, therefore, to be the ancient name of the hill now known as Naharāḷḷabōḍu.

Paṁṇagāma (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10), *i.e.*, *Paṇṇagāma*, Skt. *Parṇagrāma* (?), a village.

Papilā (F, l. 3), a locality.

[*Pa*]*lura* (F, l. 1, first syllable restored), a town in Kaliṅga, identified with Dantapura (S. Lévi, *J. A.*, Vol. CCVI, 1925, pp. 46 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp: 94 ff.). Ptolemy mentions Παλούρα πόλις ἐν Γαγγητικῷ κόλπῳ (I, 5, 16) and Πάλουρα πόλις at the western-most mouth of the Ganges.

Puphagiri (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Pupphagiri*, Skt. *Pushpagiri* ("Flower Mountain"), a hill (?), site of a *sela-maṇḍava* or stone shrine founded by Bodhisiri.

Puvasela (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Puvvasela*, Skt. *Pūrvaśaila* ("Eastern Mountain"), a hill.

Mahā-Dhaṁmagiri (F, l. 3), see *Dhaṁmagiri*.

Yava[*na*] (F, l. 1), Skt. *Yavana*, Pali *Yona*, designation originally of the Greeks (Ionians), subsequently of other foreign nations. Converted by Mahārakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 9, *Mahāv.* XII, 5 and 39-40. *Cf. Saka-Yavane* in *Milinda*. pp. 327 and 331.

Vaṁga (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Vaṅga*, Skt. and Pali *Vaṅga*, modern Bengal.

Vanavāsi (F, l. 1) and *Vānavāsaka* (H, l. 10), Skt. and Pali *Vanavāsa*, Gr. Βαναβάσι (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83), a country corresponding to North Kanara. The village of Banavāsi is situated in latitude 14° 33′, longitude 75° 5′ in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. It lies close to the border of Mysore territory and North Kanara. Vanavāsa was converted to Buddhism by Rakkhita, *Mahāv.* XII, 4. *Cf.* also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* V, 23 (ed. Bühler), p. 34; *Mahāvaṁsa* XII, 31, XXIX, 42.

Vijayapurī (F, l. 2), a town (?) to the east of which the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri was situated. *Cf.* Lüders, *List*, No. 1285.

Siripavata (F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *Siripavvata*, Skt. *Śrīparvata*, a mountain, apparently the site of a *vihāra* or monastery mentioned in connection with the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri. See above, p. 9.

Sīhaḷa- in *Sīhaḷa-vihāra* (F, l. 3), the Singhalese or Ceylonese Monastery, where Bodhisiri had founded a *Bodhi-rukkha-pāsāda* or "Shrine of the Bodhi-tree."

Hirumuṭhuva (F, l. 3), a locality.

TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

After the above paper had been completed, Mr. Longhurst sent me estampages of two more inscriptions discovered by him in the course of his excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Both are found incised on sculptures.

One of these inscriptions occurs on a 'footprint slab.' It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three *aksharas*, the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The *aksharas* measure from ½ to 1¼ inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a *patipadā*. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit *pratipadā*, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the Amarāvatī inscriptions, is *paduka-paṭa* (*i.e.*, *pāduka-patta*), or *pātuka°*, *patuka* (*i.e.*, *pāduka*).

The donor was Budhi (*i.e.*, Buddhi), the sister of Moda, the Saka. If this interpretation is correct, the mention of a Saka or Scythian is a point of special interest. In this connection it should be noted that among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

In the word *bakiniya* corresponding to Sanskrit *bhaginyāḥ* we note a disaspiration of the initial consonant and a hardening of the *media ga* into *ka*.

TRANSCRIPT.

Sid[dhaṁ] Sakasa Modasa bak[i]n[i]ya Budh[i]ya pat[i]padā deyadhama

TRANSLATION.

Success ! A *patipadā*, the pious gift of Budhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

The second inscription occurs on a carved stone slab. It consists of only three *aksharas* which I read :

Dhamasa

meaning " Of Dhama". Whether this is the name of the donor or the mason, it is impossible to decide.

No. 2.—NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASOVARMMADEVA.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper was excavated at **Nālandā**, the well-known ancient site of Magadha, by Mr. J. A. Page in the official year 1925-26.[1] It was found buried in the debris of the southern verandah of the old *vihāra*—now called Monastery I—which has yielded not only a large number of bronze or copper images of various kinds and the very valuable copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva that has been published above,[2] but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā.

This interesting document is engraved on the top bed of a stone capital-bracket and covers a space of 17½ inches by 11 inches. It consists of twenty-one lines of writing and, excepting

[1] See *A. S. R.*, 1925-26, pp. 131 & 158.

[2] Vol. XVII, plate between pp. 320 and 321.

for a crack at the middle, is fairly well-preserved. The execution is neat and calligraphic. The record is a *praśasti* drawn in florid **Sanskrit** and, but for the initial symbol and the words *api cha* coming between the sixth and the seventh stanzas, is entirely in verse. The **characters**, in which it is written, belong to the **northern class of alphabets** and present a very marked development in contrast with those of the contemporary and even somewhat later inscriptions which have been found in Northern and Eastern India. They largely resemble the characters of the Aphsaḍ stone inscription of Ādityasēna[1] and would, thereby, indicate that the development, we notice in them, must have taken place not later than the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, *i.e.*, the time to which this inscription belongs. Till now, the Gayā inscription of A.D. 588-89 was considered to be the earliest inscription to illustrate such forms. But the epigraph under publication is decidedly anterior to that record and, therefore, becomes the earliest known inscription to represent that development. The alphabet to which these characters belong may well be called acute-angled (Bühler)[2] or *Siddhamātṛikā* (Berūnī)[3] in preference to the term 'nail-headed' or '*kuṭila*'. Dēvanāgarī is an outgrowth of this *lipi*. The present record uses the bipartite form of *ya* throughout, as does the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.[4] Nālandā is not far off from Bōdh-Gayā. This epigraph, therefore, will not countenance the supposition that the use of the bipartite *ya* in the Mahānāman inscription was "premature." The tripartite form of *ya* is found even in the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita,[5] which belongs to the *Saṁvat* year 718 (=A.D. 661). It is to be met with not only in the inscriptional records named above, but also in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscripts of Japan which are believed to have existed in the second half of the 6th century (A.D.). To regard an inscription as late or early merely on the ground that it uses the bipartite or the tripartite form of *ya* would not, consequently, be quite accurate. The alphabet used in this inscription is, to a large extent, identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī or Nāgarī. The chief points of difference which it presents are these : The *ā-mātrā* is generally indicated by a sort of small wedge attached to the right of the top line, whereas in Nāgarī it is expressed by a full perpendicular stroke. In the case of *ṇā*, however, a somewhat different mode is adopted by slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top towards the right side. The *ū-mātrā* is slightly different in shape, as, *e.g.*, in *bhūri*°, l. 2. The *ē-mātrā* is marked in two different ways, sometimes in an elongated form of the Nāgarī symbol with a bend at about the middle, as in *dēhināṁ*, l. 1, and sometimes by a short curve appended to the left of the top line of the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in °*ārthinē*, l. 1, or in *karēṇa*, l. 21. Similarly, the *ai-mātrā* is expressed in two ways. In °*ś=ch=aisha*, occurring in the penultimate line, it is practically similar to the Nāgarī symbol, whereas in the majority of cases it is expressed by the hook-like mark attached to the left of the top line and the slanting *ē-mātrā*, as, *e.g.*, in °*uchchaiḥ*, l. 21. The *ō-mātrā* is shown by the symbols of the *ā* and the *ē-mātrās* combined, see, for instance, °*mōkshāya* and *yō* in l. 1. The *au-mātrā* is also different, *e.g.*, see °*gaura*° in l. 6, or *Śauddhōdanēr=* in l. 9.

As to the initial vowels, only the *ā* and the *i* retain their comparatively earlier forms. The former keeps the hook attached to its leg as in *ādēśāt*°, l. 12, and the latter, the two small circles placed above the reversed crescent, as in *ity=*, l. 20.

In the case of consonants, the omission of the top line of the *sa*, the *ma* and the *ya* symbols is noteworthy. So, also, are the forms of the letters *bha*, *ha*, *gha* and *ja*. The symbol for *dha* is also dissimilar and still preserves the old form, as does the letter *ṭha*. The form of *r* in conjunction with a following consonant is also antique and noteworthy; *e.g.*, see *sEndrair=yaḥ* in l. 1 or °*padārtha*° in l. 2.

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 42, plate XXVIII.
[2] *Indian Palæography* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII), p. 49.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLI A. [5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.

In respect of **orthography**, the points which call for remark are (1) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, *e.g.*, in *vōdhi*, ll. 15 and 17, or in *Vālāditya*, l. 19, and (2) the use of the *n*-like symbol for the conjunct *ñ*, as in *sarvvēshāñ=janma*², l. 17.

The inscription contains two words of special lexical interest. One is *śāstā* which occurs in v. 14 and seems to be used in the sense of sword personified or command.[1] The other is *Tikina* which comes in the third stanza and must be a foreign title, as is shown below.

The inscription, as I have stated above, is a *praśasti* and its **object** is to record that **Mālāda, the son of the minister** (*mantrin*) **of Yaśōvarmmadēva**, made certain gifts, specified herein, to the temple which **king Bālāditya** had erected at **Nālandā** in honour of the 'Son of Śuddhōdana', *i.e.*, the Buddha. It consists of fifteen beautiful stanzas written in three different metres, namely, Śārddūlavikrīḍitam, Vasantatilakā and Sragdharā and is **a Buddhist record.** Commencing with an invocation of the Buddha, it extols the great king Yaśōvarmmadēva as the *Lōkapāla i.e.*, guardian of the world, who had risen like the sun after dispelling the darkness in the form of the enemies and after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings though, unfortunately, it does not mention the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. It, then, introduces the donor Mālāda and describes him as the wise, magnanimous, benevolent and victorious son of Yaśōvarmmadēva's minister, whom it calls the *Mārgapati* as well as *Udīchīpati* and *pratīta-Tikina*, though it does not give his name or any other particulars about him. Mālāda is mentioned here as the brother of **Nirmmalā** (v. 11), son (*nandana*) of **Bandhumatī** and scion of a noble family, whose name is not stated. Giving a vivid description of the magnificent temple which king Bālāditya had built at Nālandā like a column of victory constructed after conquering the world (vv. 4-10), the inscription specifies the benefactions which the donor made for that sanctuary, as well as, for the *bhikshus* or Buddhist monks. The gifts consisted of *ghee*, curds, a brilliant lamp pure water mixed with fourfold fragrant objects (*chatur-jātaka*)[2] and refreshing like nectar, and a permanent endowment (*akshaya-nīvī*), the nature of which has not been made quite clear. We are further informed that Mālāda distributed delicious food and scented water to the *bhikshus* and, purchasing a *layana* and other things from the 'revered *Saṅgha*' gave them back to the monks, herein called *Śākyātmajas* (=the (*spiritual*) sons of the Buddha), excepting a *chīvarikā* (monk's robe) and *sradēsa*[3] up to and beyond Narddarikā. The afore-mentioned gifts Mālāda brought himself out of his great devotion for the Buddha when he was 'awakened' or enlightened by the illustrious monk **Pūrṇṇēndrasēna** and gave them to the monks for the welfare of his parents as well as of other relations. At the close of the inscription we are told that the *kīrtti* should be respected not only because of the fear of committing the five sins (*pañch-ānantarya*), which accrue from the infringement of such pious deeds, but, also, because of the fear of the sword[1] of king Bālāditya, the subduer of the enemy.

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[1] See *Amarakōśa*, *Śabdakalpadruma* and also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *Śāstri*. Or, does this word refer to an image of the Buddha (*Śāstā*) which might have been set up by Bālāditya in the temple he had built at Nālandā (see v. 6 of the text)?

[2] The four fragrant articles are: (1) *Tvak*, *i.e.*, *Bamboo manna*, (2) *Ēlā*, *i.e.*, Cardamom, (3) *Patraka*, *i.e.*, *Laurus Cassia* and (4) *Nāgakēsara*, or *Mesua Roxburghii*. *Cf.*- *Rājanirghaṇṭa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* :—

Tvag-ēlā-patrakais=tulyais=tri-sugandhi tri-jātakam |
Nāgakēsara-samyuktam chātur-jātakam=uchyatē ||

[3] The exact significance of this term is not clear. Possibly it meant some place for himself, if not his own country.

The last stanza tells us that the *praśasti* was composed by **Śīlachandra** and the celebrated *Karaṇika* **Svāmidatta** under the inviolable command of the *Saṅgha*.

The inscription is **not dated** but supplies sufficient data to fix the time to which it belongs. It was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśōvarmmadēva was holding the reins of sovereignty. That the Bālāditya of this record must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hiuen Tsiang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā need not be dilated upon. The inscription itself mentions him as the builder of a magnificient sanctuary at Nālandā. That it is silent about his subjugation of the well-known Hūṇa king of Sākala (the modern Siālkoṭ in the Panjāb) is either due to his having had very little to do in the matter, as has already been suggested by Vincent Smith,[1] or, perhaps, to the fact that this inscription came into existence before that event.[2] Bālāditya flourished *cir.* 530 after Christ. Accordingly, Yaśōvarmmadēva, his suzerain, must have ruled about the same age. So the question arises : Who was that suzerain ? He cannot be the homonymous ruler of Kanauj,[3] who was routed by Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir and is better known to history as the patron of Bhavabhūti, the eminent playwright, because he came a couple of centuries after this period. The Chandēl chief of the same name is also out of the question, for he belongs to a still later epoch, *i.e.*, the 10th century of the Christian era. I know of no other ruler of this name who could be identified with the overlord mentioned in this inscription. But a powerful ruler of the name of Yaśōdharma is known to have flourished at the time when Bālāditya reigned, *i.e.*, the period to which this document is assignable. According to the Mandasōr stone inscriptions,[4] he was ruling in the Mālava year 589 (= A.D. 533-34), and was a mighty conqueror who governed the whole of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean and erected two columns of victory with inscriptions commemorating his triumph over the foreign invaders. In view of the facts stated in all these records I am of the opinion that the Yaśōvarmmadēva of the Nālandā and the Yaśōdharma of the Mandasōr inscriptions are identical and that the late Dr. Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśōdharma should be corrected into Yaśōvarma.[5] It is true that names ending in *dharma* are not unknown, but the appellation as given in the document under publication looks more reasonable and more appropriate than the one which was read in the other epigraphs. Accordingly, I would suggest that we should **call the sovereign ruler who was chiefly responsible for the break-down of the power of the Hūṇas in India early in the 6th century of the Christian era by the name of Yaśōvarmmadēva as given in the present record.** From the way this inscription introduces him and Bālāditya it is evident that he was the overlord of the latter. The suzerainty of Yaśōdharma is proven by the above-mentioned inscriptions. Bālāditya, in any case, could not have had two different overlords living side by side and having practically identical names.[6] The **chief interest** of this inscription, therefore, lies in its enabling us to determine

[1] *Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 386.

[2] It is not impossible, however, that Bālāditya fought Mihirakula—though under the supreme command of Yaśōvarmmadēva—and got the credit for ousting him (*i.e.*, Mihirakula).

[3] The guess made in *A. S. R.* 1925-26, p. 131 was wrong.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 34 & 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, foot-note 2 on page 145.

[6] *Janēndra* in the Mandasōr inscription (l. 4) does not necessarily mean a tribal ruler as Fleet seems to have imagined. The word should be taken as a synonym of *narēndra* in the general sense, *i.e.*, the king of 'men.' Besides, his mention before Vishṇuvardhana clearly shows his suzerainty. Prof. Dr. Vogel has kindly drawn my attention to the Yaśōvarmapura of the Ghōsrāwā Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff.) which might have been designated after this monarch. The whereabouts of this place are not known. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it to be the town of Bihār which is not far off from Nālandā.

the real name of the subduer of the Hūṇas in Northern India, as stated above, though, unfortunately, it does not add anything to our knowledge of his ancestry or of his successors, whoever they were. That it lends an additional support to his claim for fame and that it proves for certain that what is stated about him in the above-mentioned epigraphs is not a mere 'oriental hyperbole' but rests on facts need not be emphasized.[1]

Now comes the difficult problem of identifying the minister or *mantrin* who is spoken of as *Mārgapati*, *Udīchīpati* and *pratīta-Tikina* in this inscription. But for the reticence of the composers of the *praśasti* on the nationality and other particulars including the name of this personage, one could have known something definite about him. *Mārgapati* literally means the guardian of road or roads, but from the similar expressions occurring in the chronicles of Kashmir one could take it to mean the guardian of the passes or the frontier. The *Mārgēśas* figure very prominently in the narratives of the later chronicles of the 'Happy Valley' as Sir Aurel Stein[2] has already pointed out. They were also known by other names like *Mārgapas*, *Adhvapas*, *Adhvēśas*, *etc.*, and were generally referred to in the plural and in connection with some particular routes or passes across the mountains, like the *Maliks* of the Muhammadan times. Besides, they were the feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them. In the inscription under notice, on the other hand, only one such 'guardian' is mentioned. He is spoken of in the singular number and is called the 'Lord of the North' and minister of Yaśōvarmmadēva, the protector of the world. Apparently, he was the Chief of such Guardians of Passes whose official status must have been higher than that of the *Drāṅgēśas* or *Mārgēśas* of the Kashmir chronicles. What the *udīchī* or north of this record connotes cannot be stated definitely but, possibly, it may not be wrong to take it in the sense of the North-West Frontier of India. This *Udīchīpati* or the Lord of the North was, it would seem, the Chief of the Guardians of Passes in that region. This personage is further described as *pratīta-Tikina* and the meaning of this epithet is to be determined. That *pratīta* (*prati* — *ita*) is a Sanskrit word signifying 'distinguished' or 'well-known' requires no proof. *Tikina* is not a Sanskrit word at all. Dr. Sten Konow very kindly tells me that it "is evidently Turki *tigin*, *tegin*, *tägin*. It means 'a prince of the blood', and is especially used about the son or the brother of the Khān. The Chinese render it as *t'o-k'in*. It was one of the words first recognised by Thomsen in the Orkhon Inscriptions" and we "find several instances of its use in Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*". The authors of the *praśasti*, it would appear, were not aware of other particulars about this 'stranger' and therefore mentioned him by his rank or office only. The name of his son, the actual donor, was known and could not have been omitted. The inscription gives it as Mālāda which is also not Sanskrit— though a forced Sanskritic derivation may not be impossible.[3] The other details given about the donor are that he was a scion of a stainless family and the delight, *i.e.*, son, of Bandhumatī and brother of Nirmmalā. Bandhumatī and Nirmmalā might have been the proper names of the two ladies, his mother and his sister, or their epithets only. The former is known to be the name of several women. Both are undoubtedly Sanskritic and could have been applied to ladies of foreign descent also. Mālāda was, as is evidenced by this inscription, a devout Buddhist and might have been a proselyte. The offerings of a lamp, *ghee*, scented water, *etc.*, which he brought to Nālandā out of his *bhakti* or devotion to 'the great son of Śuddhōdana', *i.e.*, the Buddha, are like those which the Buddhists from Tibet and other Central

[1] Cf. J. J. Modi, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIV (1914-17), p. 595.

[2] Notes on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 214; Vol. II, pp. 291 & 392.

[3] However, it reminds me of Malada of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā° XXXI, 9) and of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (Gaek. Or. Series No. I, p. 93).

Asian countries are seen bringing to the images of the Buddha at Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur district or at Bōdh-Gayā and other sacred places even now.

The remaining persons spoken of in the *praśasti* are the monk **Pūrṇṇēndrasēna** and the two poets who composed it. Whether the former belonged to Nālandā itself or to some other locality is not definitely stated in the record but it does not look improbable that he was one of the great teachers of Nālandā itself. Of the two authors of the composition **Svāmidatta** is described as a *prathita-karaṇika, i.e.*, a celebrated officer in charge of documents. No particulars are given about the joint author, namely, **Śīlachandra.**

As to the identity of **Nālandā** no remarks are needed, for it is too well-known to require any. A few points about this locality, however, seem to be worth mentioning here. The first is its designation which is certainly Nālandā (ending in long vowel, *i.e.*, *ā*) and not Nālanda (ending in short vowel, *i.e.*, *a*) as is sometimes erroneously supposed to be.[1] The name ending in the long vowel not only occurs in this and other inscriptions but in literature also, both Buddhist as well as Jaina. I am not aware if the locality figures in Brahmanical literature at all. It goes back to the time of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jina, and of Gautama Buddha, *i.e.*, at least five centuries before the birth of Christ. The Jaina accounts[2] would show that it was a very prosperous and sacred *bāhirikā* or suburb of Rājagṛiha where Mahāvīra spent fourteen *chāturmāsyas*. Early Buddhist literature[3] also testifies to its pristine glory. But it looks curious that in neither of them it figures as a university or centre of learning. Possibly it grew as such later, *i.e.*, about the period when the great pilgrim of China, namely, Hiuen Tsiang, came to study there. The description of the *chaityas* or *vihāras*, the *prāsādas* or *dēvālayas, etc.*, as given in this interesting document, however, would show that the pilgrim's description of its splendour must have been based on facts.

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[1] The name ending in the short vowel, *i.e., a*, is given in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 210, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 167, *etc.*, and *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* by M. Walleser (Reprint from *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, pp. 15, *etc.*).

[2] (1) See *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 7th Lecture (Chapter on Nālandā), of the Second Book.

Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ teṇam samaeṇaṁ Rāyagibe nāmaṁ nayare hotthā riddhipphita samiddhe vaṇṇao jāva paḍirūve tassaṇaṁ Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā uttara-puratthime disībāe etthaṇaṁ Nālaṁdānāmaṁ bāhiriyā hotthā aṇogabhavaṇassa yasanniviṭṭhā jāva paḍirūvā || 1 ||

(2) *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (ed. H. Jacobi), Leipzig, 1879, p. 64, para. 122.

Rāyagihaṁ nagaraṁ Nālaṁdaṁ cha bāhiriyaṁ.

(3) The *Pūrvadēśachaityaparipāṭi* which was composed by Paṇḍita Haṁsasōma in V. S. 1565 and has lately been published in the Yaśōvijaya-Jainagranthamālā, Bhāvanagara (Kathiawad) says :—

Nālaṁdai pāḍai chauda-chaumāsa suṇījai
Hauḍā lokaprasiddha te Badagāma kahījai
Solaprāsādatihāṁ achchhai Jinabimbanamījāi.

(4) The *Sammēlaśikharatīrthamālā* is more explicit. It records :—

Bāhirī Nālaṁdo pāḍo
Suṇayo tasa puṇyapavāḍo
Vīra chaudarahā chaumāsa
Hauḍā Baḍagāṁma nivāsa
Biṁhudehare ekaso pratimā navīlahi ī Bodhanī gaṇimā.

[3] References to Buddhist works are several and I have dealt with them in the paper which I read before the All-India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1928. (*Proceedings, Fifth Indian Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 386 ff.). Here I may allude to *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 377.

"Taṁ kiṁ maññasi gahapati : Ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phītā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."
"Evaṁ bhante, ayaṁ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phītā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."

NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASOVARMMADEVA.

As to the name **Narddarikā** occurring in this record, it might have been an ancient streamlet or a lake at Nālandā.

TEXT.[1]

Line 1 [2]संसारश्वभ्रव(ब)न्धनात्कृतमतिर्मोक्षाय यो देहिनां कारुण्यात्प्रसभं शरीरमपि यो दत्वा तुतोषार्थिने [।*] सेन्द्रैर्यः स्वशिर:किरीटमकरो-घृष्टांघ्रि-

„ 2 पद्म: सुरैस्तस्मै सर्व्वपदार्थतत्वविदुषे वु(बु)द्धाय नित्यं नमः ॥ [१[3] ॥*] सर्व्वेषां मूर्ध्नि दत्वा पदमवनिभृतामुन्नतो भूरिधामा निस्त्रिंशांशुप्रतानप्रद-लितनिखिलारातिघो-

„ 3 रान्धकार: [।*] ख्यातो यो लोकपाल: सकलवसुमतीपद्मिनीवो(बो)ध-हेतुः श्रीमान्भास्वानिवोच्चैस्तपति दिशिदिशि श्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवः ॥[२[4] ॥*] तस्यासौ परमप्रसादम-

„ 4 ज्जित: श्रीमानुदाराशय: पुत्रो मार्गपते: प्रतीततिकिनोदोचीपतेर्म्मन्त्रिण: [।*] मालादो भुवि नन्दनोरिदमनो यो व(ब)न्धुमत्यास्सुधीर्दीनाशापरिपूरणे-

„ 5 कचतुरो धीरो विशुद्धान्वय: ॥[३[3] ॥*] यासावूर्जितवैरिभूपविगलद्दानाम्वु(म्बु)-पानोल्लसन्माद्यद्भृङ्गकरीन्द्रकुम्भदलनप्राप्तश्रियाम्भूभुजाम् । नालन्दा ह-

„ 6 सतीव सर्व्वनगरी: शुभ्राभ्रगौरस्फुरच्चैत्यांशुप्रकरैस्सदागमकलाविख्यातविद्व-ज्जना॥[४[3] ॥*] यस्यामम्वु(म्बु)धरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी वि-

„ 7 हारावली मालेवोर्ध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुव: [।*] नानारत्नमयूखजालखचितप्रासाददेवालया सद्विद्याधरसङ्घ-

„ 8 रम्यवसतिर्धत्ते सुमेरो: श्रियम् ॥[५[3]॥*] यत्रास[त्य]पराक्रमप्रणयिना जित्वा-खिलान्विद्विषो वा(बा)लादित्यमहानृपेण सकलम्भुक्त्वा च भूमण्डलम् [।*]

„ 9 प्रासाद: सुमहानयम्भगवत: शौद्धोदनेरद्भुत: कैलासाभिभवेच्छयेव धवलो मन्ये समुत्थापित: ॥[६[3]॥*] अपि च ॥ न्यक्कुर्व्वन्निन्दुकान्तिन्तुहिनगि-

„ 10 रिशिर:श्रेणिशोभान्निरस्यन् शुभ्रामाकाशगङ्गान्तदनु मलिनयन्मुक्तयत्वादि-सिन्धून् । मन्ये जेतव्यशून्ये भुवन इह वृथा भ्रान्तिरित्याक-

„ 11 लय्य भ्रान्त्वा क्षोणीमशेषाञ्जितविपुलयशस्तम्भ उच्चैस्स्थितो वा ॥[७[4]॥*] यस्यादर्शि निवेद्यमान्यदधिमहीपस्तथा भासुरस्यातुर्जातकरेणुमिश्रममल-

[1] From the excellent impressions supplied by Mr. J. A. Page.

[2] Symbol for *Ōṁ* or *Siddhaṁ*.

[3] Metre : Sārddūlavikrīḍitam.

[4] Metre : Sragdharā.

Line 12 न्तोयं सुधाशीतलं । साध्वो चाच्चयनीविका भगवते वु(बु)द्धाय शुद्धात्मने मालादेन यथोक्तवंशयशसा तेनातिभक्त्या स्वयं ॥[८[1]॥*] आदेशात्स्फीतशील-श्रुतधवलधि-

,, 13 यो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य भूयो दत्तन्तेनैव सम्यग्व(ग्ब)हुष्टतदधिभिर्व्यञ्जनैर्युक्तमं-(म)त्रं । भिक्षुभ्यस्तच्चतुर्भ्यो [ब]हुसुरभि चतुर्जातकामोदि नित्यं तोयं स[म्ये] विभक्तं पुनरपि

,, 14 विमलं भिक्षुसङ्घाय दत्तम् ॥[८[2]॥*] तेनैवाद्भुतकर्म्मणा निजमिह क्रीत्वा-[यं]सङ्घान्तिकान्मुक्ता चीवरिकां प्रदाय विधिना सामान्यमेकन्तथा । कालम्प्रेरयितुं सुखे-

,, 15 न लयनन्दत्तं स्वदेशम्विना तेभ्यो नर्द्दरिकावधेश्च परतः शाक्यात्मजेभ्यः पुनः ॥[१०[2]॥*] दानं यदेतदमलङ्गुणशालिभिक्षुपूर्णेन्द्रसेनवचनप्रतिवो(बो)-धितेन । तेन प्रतीत-

,, 16 यशसा भुवि निर्म्मलाया भ्रात्रा व्यधायि शरदिन्दुनिभाननायाः ॥[११[3]॥*] पित्रोर्भ्रातुः कलत्रस्वसृसुतसुहृदान्तस्य धर्म्मैकधाम्नो दत्तं दानं यदेतत्सकल-मतिरसेनायुरा-

,, 17 रोग्यहेतोः । सर्व्वेषाञ्जन्मभाजां भवभयजलधेः पारसंतारणार्थं श्रीमत्सम्बो-(म्बो)धिकल्पद्रुमविपुलफलप्राप्तये चानुमोद्यम् ॥[१२[2]॥*] चन्द्रो यावच्चकास्ति स्फुरदुरुकिरणो लो-

,, 18 कदीपश्च भास्वान् एषा यावच्च धात्री सजलधिवलया द्यौश्च दत्तावकाशा । यावच्चैते महान्तो भुवनभरधुरान्धारयन्तो महीध्रास्तावच्चन्द्राव-दाता धवलयतु दिशाम्म-

,, 19 ण्डलं कीर्त्तिरेषा ॥[१३[2]॥*] यो दानस्यास्य कश्चित्क्षतजगदवधेरन्तरायं विद-ध्यात्साचाद्ध्यामनस्थो जिन इह भगवानन्तरस्थः सदास्ते । वा(बा)लादित्येन राज्ञा प्रदलितरि-

,, 20 पुणा स्थापितश्चैष शास्ता पश्चानन्त[र्यं]कर्तुर्गतिमतिविषमार्न्धर्म्महीनः स यायात् ॥[१४[2]॥*] इत्येवं शीलचन्द्रप्रथितकरणिकस्वामिदत्तावलङ्घ्यां संज्ञाश्चां मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा श्रुतलव-

,, 21 विभवावप्यनालोच्य भारं । हृद्यामेतामुदारां त्वरितमकुरुतामप्रपश्चां प्रशस्तिं वाञ्छेतां किन्न पंगू शिखरितरुफलावाप्तिमुच्चैः करेण ॥[१५[2]*॥]

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[1] Metre: Śārddūlavikrīḍitam.

[2] Metre: Sragdharā.

[3] Metre: Vasantatilakā.—The last *akshara* of the first *pāda* should be treated as *guru*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emancipate living beings from the strong tangles of the world and who felt exceedingly delighted after giving (*his own*) body to the supplicant, whose foot-lotus is rubbed by the gods, including Indra, with the fishes (*engraved*) in the diadems on their heads and who is conversant with the real nature of all the categories.

(V. 2.) The illustrious, prosperous and highly glorious **Yaśōvarmmadēva** has risen after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely removed the terrific darkness in the form of all of his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword. He is the celebrated protector of the world and the cause of the excitement of all the *Padminī* women of the earth. He shines above all in every quarter like the resplendent Sun, who has risen after spreading his rays on the tops of all the mountains and has torn asunder by the diffusion of severe rays the foe in the form of terrible darkness, who is the well-known protector of the world and cause of the blooming of all the lotuses of the earth.

(V. 3.) **Mālāda** was the illustrious and magnanimous son of the well-known **Tikina** (*i.e.*, **Tegin**), who was his (Yaśōvarmmadēva's) minister, the Guardian of the Frontier and Ruler of the North. He (Mālāda), the unrivalled and quick subduer of the enemies, fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants on the earth, resolute, of stainless family and the son (literally, gladdener) of **Bandhumatī**, was honoured by his (Yaśōvarmmadēva's) great favour.

(Vv. 4—6.) **Bālāditya**, the great king of irresistible valour, after having vanquished al the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected, as if with a view to see the Kailāsa mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of Śuddhōdana (*i.e.*, the Buddha) here at **Nālandā**. Nālandā had scholars, well-known for their (*knowledge of the*) sacred texts and arts, and (*was full of the*) heaps of the rays of the *chaityas* shining and bright like white clouds. She was (*consequently*) mocking, as it were, at all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (*row of vihāras*) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the Creator, which looked resplendent in going upwards. Nālandā had temples which were brilliant on account of the net-work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *Saṅgha* and resembled Sumēru, the charming residence of the noble Vidyādharas.

And—

(V. 7.) (*The prāsāda*), after having gone round the earth and on finding, as it were, that it was a useless wandering when this world had no other structure to be conquered (surpassed), stands aloft, as if it were a column of the great fame it had won, scoffing at the lustre of the moon, disregarding the beauty of the rows of the summits of the Snow-mountain (Himālaya), soiling (*i.e.*, throwing into the shade) the white Ganges of the sky, and then turning dumb the streams of disputants.

(V. 8.) Here, Mālāda of the above-mentioned family and fame himself brought with great devotion for the pure Lord Buddha the pious permanent grant, pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, as well as, the shining lamp, the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

(V. 9.) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (*various*) preparations, curds and copious *ghee*, to the four monks[1]. He again gave to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four[2] objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *sattra*.

[1] Does it mean "monks from the four quarters"?

[2] See above, p. 39, f. n. 2.

(V. 10.) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (*at Nālandā*) from the revered *Saṅgha* and gave it back (*to the bhikshus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākya, *i.e.*, Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.[1]

(V. 11.) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmmalā[2] whose face resembled the autumnal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrṇṇēndrasēna, who shines by his excellence.

(V. 12.) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i.e.*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13.) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kīrtti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14.) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha) is here ever present within, occupying the adamantine seat and that the great king Bālāditya has established this command (or the image of the Buddha).[3]

(V. 15.) Thus, Śīlachandra and the well-known *Karaṇika* Svāmidatta, having placed the order of the *Saṅgha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *praśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples[4] wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (*their*) hand ?

No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptarishīśvara temple at **Lalgudi** in the Trichinopoly district. For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is **dated** in the year **opposite to the fourth** (*i.e.*, the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it. It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king **Nandippōttaraiyar who fought the battle of Teḷḷāṟu and gained victory in it**, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at **Tiruttavatturai** in **Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu.** The amount was received by the members of the assembly of **Nallimaṅgalam** who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḻi* of ghee.

[1] Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a *grihastha* as the Burmese do even now-a-days ?

[2] See above, page 41.

[3] See foot-note 1 on page 39 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr. Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrāsana, being the Bōdhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bālāditya.

[4] The word *paṅgū* is put in the dual number because the *praśasti* was composed by two authors.

Inscription B is **dated on the day of Śadaiyam** (**Śatabhishaj**) corresponding to a **Tuesday in the month of Dhanus falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth** (*i.e.*, the thirteenth year) of the reign of king **Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**. In the body of the record the king is called **Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya**. The inscription states that the king gave 120 *kāśu* to a certain **Aṇḍaṉāṭṭu-Vēḷāṉ**. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of **Iḷamperuṅkāy-irukkai** in **Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu** who bound themselves to supply towards interest, the capital remaining intact, one *nāḻi* of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 *kāṇam* (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōḷa king **Rājakēsarivarman**. It states that the king's uterine sister **Naṅgai-Varaguṇa-Perumāṉār** gave 30 *kalañju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one *uri* of ghee daily. The assembly of **Maṇalkāl**, a *brahmadēya* of **Kalāra-kūṟṟam** which was a sub-division of **Vaḍagarai-Maḻa-nāḍu**, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

Before taking up the question of the date of these three inscriptions, I may point out straightway that they are written in the same hand and script and must consequently have been inscribed simultaneously. I may here add that there is another inscription in this very temple which is coeval with these records and is, apparently, written by the same hand though it refers itself to the Pallava king Nṛipatuṅgavarman. It has already been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (*Texts*), Volume IV.[1] Inscriptions of the three kings mentioned in these records are also found in several other places. But they are all written in varying types of the Tamiḻ script not resembling the one in which the three inscriptions under notice are incised. As these kings flourished at different periods, the records belonging to their respective reigns could not have been written in the same hand. Consequently, the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are in the same hand, must be treated as later copies of older records made probably at the time when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they can be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era.

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parāntaka Iḷaṅgōvēḷār[2] in another inscription of Rājakēsarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakēsarivarman.[3] The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the *puḷḷi* or *virāma* as do the Takkōlam and other inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman, *i.e.*, Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalātturai[4] refer to Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār which is another name for Parāntakaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. They tell us that he was also called Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār. One of them mentions his queen Kaṟṟaḷippirāṭṭiyār also. The name Pūdiyār given to Iḷaṅgōvēḷār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsari who is reported in the Mūvarkōvil inscription to have married Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā.[5] From a Tiruchchendurai inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūdi-Ādichchapiḍāriyār who was the queen of Arikulakēsari, *i.e.*, Ariñjaya[6] the son of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. I have shown

[1] See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.

[2] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 113.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 127.

[4] Nos. 258 and 273 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04, and para. 90 of part II of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08.

[5] *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, para. 90 of Part II.

[6] Nos. 316, 317 and 319 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1903-04.

elsewhere[1] that Āditya I must have ascended the throne in A.D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalgudi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A.D. 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign.

To settle the dates of the inscriptions A and B we have to consider the way in which they are dated. We find that they give some year opposite to the fourth. This mode of dating was adopted by the Pāṇḍya king Māṛañjaḍaiyan *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, as is evidenced by several inscriptions of his reign which have already been brought to light.[2] Consequently, these two records also should be ascribed to the same ruler.

We have now to establish the date of the accession of Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda-Nandippōttavarman and of his contemporary Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, who was the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman II and father of Śrīmāra Śrivallabha Parachakrakōlāhala, the conqueror of Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṁsa* tells us that there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Silāmēgha Sēna I (A.D. 846 to 866), in which the Pāṇḍya king came off completely victorious and took possession of the capital and carried away a large amount of booty, though he eventually restored the Singhalese kingdom to its rightful king. The only early Pāṇḍya king who is known from the Śiṇṇamaṇūr plates to have invaded and conquered Ceylon is Śrīmāra. From the facts recorded in the *Mahāvaṁsa* it can be gathered that his reign covered the last 3 years of the rule of Dappula and probably commenced in the year 840 and ended in 862 A.D. when his eldest son Varaguṇavarman II succeeded him. Śrīmāra's predecessor, namely, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, must have reigned prior to 840 A.D. His latest regnal year so far known from inscriptions is the seventeenth and we can reasonably state that his rule over the Pāṇḍya country may have extended from 823 to 840 A.D. though it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier. The date of Varaguṇa I can approximately be ascertained from the chronology of the Pallava kings from Nandivarman Pallavamalla to Aparājita. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates give us the genealogy of the latter Pallavas for three generations commencing from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.[3] They state that Pallavamalla's son was Dantivarman and that the latter's son was Nandivarman III. This information is supplemented by the Bāhūr plates which tell us that Dantivarman's son was Nandivarman III, who had for his queen the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Śaṅkhā, and that the latter's son was Nṛipatuṅga.[4] It is to be noted that in these plates no mention is made of Kampavarman and the name Kampavarman was not borne by any one of the above mentioned kings. If Kampavarman was a lineal descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we might tentatively assume that he was another, and, perhaps, the younger son of Nandivarman III. The name Nandi-Kampēśvara given to the temple at Śōḷapuram may have been called after Kampavarman, the son of Nandivarman.[5] It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Vēlūrapāḷaiyam as well as the Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nṛipatuṅga. It will be shown presently that he cannot be made the immediate successor of Nṛipatuṅga. Therefore the only inference that could be drawn regarding Kampavarman is that he must have been a joint ruler with either Nṛipatuṅga or Aparājita

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 ff., and No. 13 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, Nos. 90 and 137 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Nos. 358 and 364 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08 and No. 84 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1909-10.

[3] *South-Indian Inscrs.*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nṛipatuṅga, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kambha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhārāvarsha Dhruva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha).

or with both.[1] Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled. From the Āmbūr inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga, we learn that the Gaṅga king Pṛithvīpati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king.[2] And since it is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that this very Gaṅga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājita and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa (II),[3] it might be said that Aparājita[4] was the immediate successor of Nṛipatuṅga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñchī is known from the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates which report that the Chōḷa king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom.[5] This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śiṟṟiyāṟṟūr in Maṇaiyil-nāḍu was granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimāṉ-Āṟṟūr-tuñjiṉa-uḍaiyār *i.e.*, Āditya I[6]. If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājita in about A.D. 888. The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu, *i.e.*, Nandivarman III, Nṛipatuṅga and Aparājita are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively. With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns. Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājita and deducting from it 18, which is the highest regnal year known for him,[7] we get A.D. 870 for his accession. This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nṛipatuṅga ceased to rule. Since the latest regnal year so far found for him is 26,[8] we get A.D. 844 for his accession. It may be noted here that the initial year of Nṛipatuṅga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor[9] and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862.[10] We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nṛipatuṅga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu. The latest regnal year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Teḷḷāṟu is 22.[11] But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer.[12] If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Gaṅga grants that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.[13] The last year of Gōvinda

[1] In a Tamil inscription of Uttaramallūr of the time of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 325) is published in the *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, the donor is Śeyya-Aparājita, and he is called Perumāṉadigaḷ-aḍiyāṉ.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.

[4] It is learnt from No. 350 of Vol. VI of *S. I. I.* (Texts), that Aparājita bore the title Rājamārttāṇḍa.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49. This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tillasthānam which styles Aditya I as "Rājakēsarivarman who extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu" (*Ibid.*, p. 221, No. 89).

[6] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, Part II, paras. 29 and 30.

[7] No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

[9] No. 360 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[10] No. 705 of the same collection for 1905.

[11] No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.

[12] In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets 'Pallavamalla' or 'Teḷḷāṟreṟinda' there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.

[13] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 158 and 161.

III being A.D. 814[1] this event should have occurred before that date, say about A.D. 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns, extending to 65 and 51 years,[2] it seems improbable that Nandivarman III, who succeeded Dantivarman, could have ruled long and, since the last year of his reign cannot be taken earlier than A.D. 844, it will be safe to assume that his rule lasted from A.D. 812 to 844. Deducting 51 from 812 and 65 from the balance we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should, therefore, have extended from A.D. 761 to 812 and A.D. 696 to 761. The chronology as worked out from these facts and others noted later on is shown below :—

Pāṇḍya kings.	Pallava kings.	Rāshṭrakūṭas.	Western Gaṅgas.	Chōḷas.
	Nandivarman II Pallavamalla			
Māravarman				
Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ				
Rājasimha	Dantivarman	Gōvinda III	Śivamāra II	
Varaguṇa I	Nandivarman III			
			Prithvīpati I	
Śrīmāra		Amōghavarsha I		
	Nṛipatuṅga			
Varaguṇa II	Aparājita			
				Āditya I

Since Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu, figures as donor in the Lalgudi inscription A dated in the 5th year, evidently of the reign of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, that record cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 812 or later than A.D. 844 which are the initial and closing years of Nandivarman III. From this, it is clear that the date of accession of Varaguṇa I cannot be taken to an earlier date than A.D. 807. We have already shown that it cannot be later than A.D. 823. In order to arrive at the actual year of accession of Varaguṇa I, the astronomical details furnished in two inscriptions, which are both dated in 4+9th (*i.e.*, the 13th) year of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (*i.e.*, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I), may be considered here. One of them is the inscription B edited below and the other is from Tiruveḷḷaṟai.[3] While the former gives the astronomical combination (*a*) **Dhanus, Tuesday and the** *nakshatra* **Śatabhishaj**, the latter furnishes another set of combinations, *viz.*, (*b*) **Vṛiśchika, Monday and the** the *nakshatra* **Aśvinī** in the same year, *i.e.*, 13th. Between A.D. 800 and 852, though there are several years in which each set of combinations occurred separately, the following table gives such of those years only as con-

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p 54.

[2] No. 666 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1922 and No. 262 of the same collection for 1904.

[3] The details of date furnished in this record have been calculated by the late Mr. R. Sewell for Varaguṇa II in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 253. But as it is dated in the 9th year opposite to the fourth it is clearly a record of Varaguṇa I.

tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (*a*) and (*b*), the initial and fifth years of the king :—

No.	Year.	Equivalents of (*a*) and (*b*).	Initial year.	5th year.
1	814	(*a*) Tuesday, 19th Dec. . . . . . . (*b*) Monday, 30th Novr.	801 A.D. .	806 A.D.
2	817	(*a*) Tuesday, 15th Dec. . . . . . . (*b*) Monday, 26th Octr.	804 . .	809
3	824	(*a*) Tuesday, 29th Novr. . . . . . . (*b*) Monday, 7th Novr. f.d.n. 71 . . .	811 . .	816
4	831	(*a*) Tuesday, 12th Dec. f.d.n. 38 . . . (*b*) Monday, 20th Novr. f.d.n. 01 . . .	818 . .	823
5	834	(*a*) Tuesday, 8th Dec. f.d.n. 56 . . . (*b*) Monday, 16th Novr. f.d.n. 70 . . .	821 . .	826
6	841	(*a*) Tuesday, 22nd Novr. f.d.n. 23 . . . (*b*) Monday, 31st Octr. f.d.n. 94 . . .	828 . .	833
7	851	(*a*) Tuesday, 1st Dec. . . . . . . (*b*) Monday, 9th Novr.	838 . .	843

Since the first two give the fifth year equivalents A.D. 806 and 809 they have to be rejected for the reason that Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda Nandivarman cannot figure in them. Similarly, Nos. 6 and 7 have to be abandoned because, according to them, the 17th year would work out to be A.D. 845 and 855, both of which are later than the lower limit fixed for Varaguṇa I. The only three that could be adopted are Nos. 3, 4 and 5 which would give us, for the king's succession, the years A.D. 811, 818 and 821. Even out of these, Nos. 4 and 5 may be given up as their adoption would narrow the possible longer range of reigns of both Varaguṇa I and Śrīmāra. It seems that the only probable date for Varaguṇa's accession is A.D. 811. This conclusion is not entirely without grounds. The internal evidence furnished in the Āṉamalai inscription, Madras Museum Plates and the Vēḷvikuḍi grant shows that A.D. 770 must fall somewhere between the 3rd and 17th years of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ to whose time they all belong[1]. After Parāntaka and before Varaguṇa I, only a single king intervened, *i.e.*, Rājasiṁha and his reign, as at present known, was an eventless one. Therefore, the period of forty-one years from A.D. 770 to A.D. 811 is more than sufficient to cover the rest of the reign of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ from the time of the Āṉamalai record and the eventless rule of Rājasiṁha. For these reasons, therefore, adopting A.D. 811 as the date of accession of Varaguṇa I, we may assign A.D. 816 to inscription A and A.D. 824 to B.

Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. Tiruttavatturai[2] must be Lalgudi itself because, the inscriptions are found there. Maṉakkāl[3] is the homonymous village in the Trichinopoly district and Eḍayattimaṅgalam, not far from Lalgudi, might have been the principal place in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu in which Tiruttavatturai is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace Nallimaṅgalam and Iḷamperuṅgāy-irukkai. Teḷḷāṟu, where Nandivarman gained a victory, is in the Wandiwash *taluq* of the North Arcot district.

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff ; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.

[2] There is also a village, called Tiruttavatturaikaṭṭaḷai in the Trichinopoly District.

[3] A village of this name is in Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam *taluk*, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.



TEXT OF A.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Yāṇḍu **4-vadiṉ edirām-āṇḍu Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāṭṭu=tTiruttavatturai-Mahādēvark ku**[1] **Teḷḷāṟṟ-eṟinduveṟa Nandippōtta[r]ai-**

2 **yar** kuḍutta paḻaṅ-kāśu 60-du [||*] ivv-aṟupadu kāśum i-ññāṭṭu **Nallimaṅgalattu** sabhaiyōm ivv-aṟupadu kāśuṅ(m) Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvar-

3 iḍai koṇḍu nārāya-nāḻiyāl niśadi nāḻi ney oru nondā-viḷakku śandir-ādittaval irav[um] pagalum eriya=kkoṇḍu-śeṉṟu aḷappōmā[nō]-

4 m[||*] Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvarkku aḷavōmāyil muṭṭil muṭṭ=iraṭṭiyum mūlappaṭṭa paṉ-mahēśvara[rē]

5 sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nilaikkaḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa tāṉ vēṇḍu kōviṉukku pukka [illegible][2] iru-nūṟṟu-ppadiṉn-āṟu kāṇam daṇḍam=iḍa [v]e-

6 ṭṭinōm Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [||*] idu pan-māhēśvarar nāṟppatt-eṇṇāyiravarum ī(i)rakshai ||.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **year opposite to 4, Nandippōttaraiyar, who fought the battle of Teḷḷāṟu and gained victory** (*in it*), gave 60 old *kāśu* to (*the temple of*) **Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu.** Having received from the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty *kāśu*,[3] we, (*the members of*) the assembly of **Nallimaṅgalam** in this *nāḍu*, bound ourselves to take (*to the temple*) and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḻi* of ghee by the measure called *nārāya-nāḻi*, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, fail (*in our undertaking*) and do not measure out (*the ghee*) to the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine[4] shall levy on (*us, the members of*) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen *kāṇam* and this shall be paid to the royal officers[5] inclusive of the *nilaikkaḷam*[6] whichever they desire. Thus we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, had this (*edict*) incised. This (*charity*) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Māhēśvaras.

TEXT OF B.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Kō-Māṟañjaḍaiyarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadiṉ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nāyiṟṟu** **Śevvā[y*]-kkiḻamai peṟṟa Śadaiya(m)ttu [nāḷ I]-**

2 **ḍaiyāṟṟu-nāṭṭu Tiruttavatturai-Māhādēvarkku**[1] iravum pagalum śandir-ādittaval iraṇḍu no[ndā-ttiru-viḷakku]

3 erippadāga kō-Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉa(ā)yiṉa **Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguṇa-Māhārāyar**[7] **Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṉ** [k]aiy[il=kkuḍutta pa]ḷḷa[ṅ]-

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[1] Read *Mahādēvarkku*.

[2] The symbols can be read as *vūḷa* (mistake for *vuḷa*) which with the preceding *pukka* becomes *pukkav-uḷa*.

[3] The words '*ivv-aṟupadu kāśum*' are repeated twice in the record.

[4] The words '*mūlappaṭṭa paṇmāhēśvara*' here used stand in the place of '*mūlappaṭṭuḍai pañch-āchārya dēvakaṉmi*' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called '*uṇṇāḻigai-vāriya*' or '*uṇṇāḻigai-sabhai*.

[5] '*Kō*' literally means 'a king'.

[6] *Nilai*=stationary and *kaḷam*=field or body. As such, the expression may mean 'a standing committee

[7] Read *Mahārāyar*.

A and B

C.

4 kāśu 120 [*]ṉūṟṟ-irupadu kāsuṅ(m) muda[l] ke[ḍā]m[ai]y poli[y-ū]ṭṭiṉāl **niśadi** nā . . . . . .[1]

5 **aḷappōm**-āyinōm ippaḍi oṭ[ṭ]i i-kkāśu koṇḍō[m] Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāṭṭu **Iḷamperuṅkāy-īruk[k]ai** [sabhaiyō]-

6 **m** [*] i-ññey niśadi iru-nāḻiyum muṭṭil muṭṭ=iraṭṭiyum mūlap[pa]ṭṭa pan-māhēśvararē sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum ni . . . . .[2]

7 **ḷḷiṭṭa** tāṉ vēṇḍu kōviṉukku pukka [illegible][3] aññūṟu kāṇam daṇḍam=iḍa oṭṭi-kkuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **9th year opposite to the 4th year of** (*the reign of*) **king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ** corresponding to the day of **Śadaiyam**, *i.e.*, **Śatabhishaj** (*falling*) **on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus,** king **Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ** *alias* **Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya** gave into the hands of **Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṉ** 120 old *kāśu* for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the **Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai** in **Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu.** As interest on these one hundred and twenty *kāśu*—the capital remaining un-affected—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two *nāḻi* of ghee by the *nārāya-nāḻi* measure]. Thus agreeing, we, (*the members of*) the assembly of **Iḷamperuṅkāy-irukkai** in Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu, received these *kāśu*. If (*any*) default occurs in (*giving*) these two *nāḻi* of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (*quantity at*) default and a fine of five hundred *kāṇam* (*of gold*) to the royal (*officers*) inclusive of [*nilaikkaḷam*] as the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

TEXT OF C.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Kō-Rājakēsaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu 13-āvadu Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai I-**

2 **śvara-baṭṭāra[ka]rkku Śōḷapperumāṉ-aḍigaḷ** tiru-uḍappiṟaṇdār **Naṅgai-Varaguṇa-perumāṉār** śandir-ā-

3 dittavaṟ iravum pagalum cru noṇḍā-viḷakku niśadi uriy ne[y]yāl[4] erivadaṟk-ku kuḍutta po[ṉ]

4 30 muppadiṉ kaḷañju poṉṉum **Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāṭṭu Kalāra-kku(kū)ṟṟattu** mēl-kūṟṟu pirama-

5 dēyam **Maṉalkāl** sabhaiyōm koṇḍu i-ppoṉ 30 kaḷañjuṅ-koṇḍu Tirut[ta]-

6 vatturai Perumāṉ-aḍigaḷukku tiruviḷakkiṉukku viṟṟu-kkuḍutta nilammāvadu[5] Mē[ṟ]-

7 ppulattu Maṉamuṭṭi-ttiḍalin-kīḻai eṅgaḷ nāṉgu-mā-kkāṇiyum pōyum viṟkkiṉ[ṟa]

8 nilattukku ellai Śiṟugavūr veṭṭappēṟṟiṉ vaḍavāy mūṉṟu mā-kkāṇiyum pō-[yu]-

9 m viṟkkiṉṟa nilattukku ellai Śiṟugavūr ellai va[y*]kkāliṉ-kkīḻai[6] iraṇḍu-māvum

10 pōyum viṟkkiṉṟa nilattukk=ellai nāṅgaḷē Talaivāyaṉukku kuḍutta ve-

11 ṭṭa[p]pēṟṟiṉ-kīḻai arai-māvum āga=ttaḍi nāṉgiṉāl nilam araiyum u-

12 ṉnilam oḻiviṉṟi i-ppoṉ 30 [ka*]ḷañjuṅ-koṇḍu ī-ūilam pattu=chcheyum iṟaiy-iliyāga viṟṟu vilaiy-āvaṇañ-cheyidu[7] iv-

[1] This gap may be filled up with the words "*rāya nāḻiyāl iru-nāḻi ney*".

[2] The letters *laikkaḷam-u* are damaged.

[3] See note 2 on p. 52.

[4] The first *y* in *neyyāl* is corrected from *yi*.

[5] Read *nilamāvadu*.

[6] Read °*kīḻai*.

[7] Read °*cheydu*.

13 nnīr veṭṭi uṭpaḍa maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭa veṭṭiyum iṟaiyum echchōṟum vediṉaiyum eppērppaṭṭadum-iṟādadāga viṟṟu vi-
14 laiy-āvaṉañ-che[y*]du kuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvarkku Maṉaṟkāl sabhaiyōm i-ñilattukku pugunda
15 kuttukkāl tīrttu-kuḍuppōmānōm tīrttu-[kkuḍōmāgil ku]ttukkāl pugunda(pugunda)-pōdu muṟpaṭṭa panm[ā]-
16 hēśvararē nilaikkaḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa tān [vēṇḍu] kō[viṉu]kku . . . . . . =kkāṇam sabhaiyaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum daṉ-
17 ḍam=iḍa oṭṭi i-ñilam pattu=chcheyum viṟṟu vilaiy-āvaṉam śeydu kuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturai-[Ma]hādēvarkku Maṉa-
18 ṟkāl sabhaiyōm [||*] idu pan-Māhēśvarar nāṟppatt-eṇṇāyiravarum rakshai ||| ||| |||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **13th year of** (*the reign of*) **king Rājakēsarivarman, Naṅgai-Varaguṇa-perumāṉār,** the illustrious uterine sister of the **Chōḷa king** (*Śōḷapperumāṉ-aḍigaḷ*), gave 30 (*kaḷañju* of) gold for burning a perpetual lamp daily with (*one*) *uri* of ghee as long as the sun and the moon last, in the temple of **Iśvara-bhaṭṭāraka** at **Tiruttavatturai.** The (*members of the*) assembly of **Maṉalkāl,** a *brahmadēya* on the western portion of **Kalārakku(kū)ṟṟam** which was a sub-division of **Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāḍu** received these thirty *kaḷañju* of gold. The following are the lands which they sold for the 30 *kaḷañju* of gold to the temple of **Perumāṉaḍigaḷ** at Tiruttavatturai for (*burning*) a sacred lamp :—

Four *mā* and (*one*) *kāṇi* of our land, situated to the east of the mound called **Maṉamuṭṭi-ttiḍal**; three *mā* and (*one*) *kāṇi* (*of land*) to the north of the *veṭṭappēṟu* in **Śiṟugavūr** ; two *mā* of land to the east of the canal at the boundary of Śiṟugavūr ; and half a *mā* (*of land*) to the east of the *veṭṭappēṟu* which we ourselves presented to **Talaivāyaṉ**[1]—in all, half a *vēli* comprised in four *taḍi*. Having received the 30 *kaḷañju* of gold, we, (*the members of*) Maṉaṟkāl, sold these ten *śey* of land, free from taxes, and drew up the sale-deed expressing therein that all kinds of *veṭṭi*, *iṟai*, *echchōṟu*, *vediṉai* and other (*taxes*) inclusive of *śennīrveṭṭi*, shall not be paid (*on these lands*), and conveyed the same to (*the temple of*) the **Mahādēva** at Tiruttavatturai. If there arises any trouble in respect of these lands, we bind ourselves to rectify the same. In case of our failure to rectify, we agree to pay, either as a body or individually, a fine of . . . , *kāṇam* of gold to the royal officers inclusive of the *nilaikkaḷam* . . . . . . as may be desired by the several Māhēśvaras existing at the time of default. Thus (*agreeing*), we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Māṉaṟkāl, sold the said ten *śey* of land, drew up the sale-deed and handed over (*possession*) to (*the temple of*) the Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai. This (*charity*) shall be under the protection of all the Māhēśvaras (*viz.*,) the Forty-Eight Thousand.

No. 4.—A SUNGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYA.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayōdhyā. It is inscribed on a flat stone slab at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *Samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Bakhsh, which is reputed to have been built in the time of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daula. This shrine with the connected buildings is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Rānopāli, about a mile distant from the town of Ayōdhyā on the road leading to Fyzābād.

[1] May also mean 'for the head-sluice'.

The inscription consists of two lines. The first line appears to be complete, though it is difficult to say that the portion of the slab hidden under the sill of the doorframe does not contain one or more lines. Of the second line, the left hand portion is completely effaced, though some slight traces that have survived make it certain that the whole of this portion was originally inscribed. The characters are Brāhmī which show considerable resemblance with the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. The characteristics of this type are discussed in Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*[1] and these are the equalization of all the upper verticals except in *la*, the constant use of the *serif* and of the angular forms of *gha*, *ja*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *la*, *sha* and *ha*. Another peculiarity of the Brāhmī script of this period is the slightly bent base line of the letter *na*. The inscription under discussion exhibits all these peculiarities in a marked degree and should be classed with those mentioned above. The document is written in correct Sanskrit and is thus one of the few early inscriptions recorded in that language. The only grammatical mistake noticed in it is the use of *Dharmarājñā* in place of *Dharmarājēṇa*.

The document has already been dealt with by several scholars, the first of whom was the discoverer, Babu Jagannath Das Ratnākara[2] himself. This article is written in Hindī and is accompanied by an inked impression of the inscription together with an improved hand-copy prepared by Mr. Ratnakara himself. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmēr, dealt with the document in the same volume of the *Nāgarī-Prachāriṇī Patrikā*,[3] as well as in his report of that Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924, pp. 1-2. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has devoted three articles to the subject.[4] Other scholars, who have dealt with this inscription, are Mr. N. K. Bhattasali,[5] Dr. A. Bannerji-Śāstrī[6] and Mr. N. G. Majumdar.[7] The inscription has, however, not yet been dealt with in any of the official publications of the Archaeological Department and my object in editing it in this journal is to bring together the various views expressed by scholars on this important inscription and to record my own impressions of the same.

The inscription records the erection of a shrine or other memorial in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of the Dharmarāja . . . . . Dhana(°dēva, °bhūti, *etc.*), Lord of Kōsala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth of the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, who had performed the *Aśvamēdha* twice.

The inscription is important for more reasons than one. It is the first inscription on stone or metal yet discovered which mentions the name of Pushyamitra, the celebrated founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Hitherto he was only known from literary sources, *e.g.*, the *Divyāvadāna* (XXIX), Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (III-2-123), where reference is made to a sacrifice performed by him, some of the *Purāṇas*, Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *etc.* The passages referring to the Śuṅga dynasty in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* are quoted in parallel columns in Pargiter's *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-33. From the extract from the former we learn that the dynasty was founded by the General Pushyamitra after he had slain the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha. His son was Agnimitra, who was succeeded by Vasujyēshṭha. The latter's son was Vasumitra and his son Andhraka. He was succeeded by Pulindaka and the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix, p. 40.

[2] *Nāgarī-Prachāriṇī-Patrikā*, Vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 99-104.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 201, *seq.*

[4] *Modern Review*, October 1924, pp. 430-32, *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 1924, Vol. X, pp. 202-208, and *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49. [Here Mr. Jayaswal has given good facsimiles of this inscription.—Ed.]

[5] *Modern Review*, February 1925, p. 202.

[6] *Ibid.*, January 1925, pp. 59-60.

[7] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. VII, pts. I and II, pp. 160-163.

latter by Yōmēgha. He was followed by Vajramitra. He was followed by Samābhāga. The latter's son was Dēvabhūmi.

Kālidāsa's drama mentions three of these kings, *i.e.*, the founder, his son Agnimitra and the latter's son Vasumitra and further informs us that Pushyamitra instituted a *Rājasūya* sacrifice and appointed Vasumitra as the guardian of the sacrificial horse, which in accordance with religious custom was to wander at will for a year and that the horse was seized by the cavalry of the Yavanas, whom Vasumitra successfully defeated and brought the horse back to his grandfather's sacrifice. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was performed by universal monarchs and the sacrifice of this name mentioned in the drama of Kālidāsa may have been the one performed by Pushyamitra on the occasion of his coronation. The Ayōdhyā inscription, however, records the performance of two *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices by Pushyamitra. It is at present not known what necessitated the institution of the second sacrifice by him. It is to the credit of Pushyamitra that he revived this sacrifice which had long been in abeyance owing to Aśōka's commandments prohibiting the immolation of animals even for sacrifices. Mr. Jayaswal[1] thinks that the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice mentioned in an inscription discovered at Nagarī also referred to Pushyamitra. It is true that such an inscription was found by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar when he was engaged in his excavations at Nagarī.[2] It has, however, been found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha[3] to be only a fragment of the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription and to supply the missing portion of the first line of that record. Thus restored, the epigraph shows that the son of Gajāyana and Pārāśarī mentioned in it was one Sarvatāta, who had performed a horse-sacrifice, but makes no mention of Pushyamitra.

The Ayōdhyā inscription is also interesting as it establishes the fact that the correct name of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty was Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra as found in some of the Sanskrit works. Dr. Bühler had already been led to this conclusion[4] by the form Pūsamitta which he found in certain Jaina Prakrit *gāthās*, but epigraphical evidence was wanting.

The interpretation of this short record is rendered difficult by the uncertainty about the exact significance of the words *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhēna* and I am afraid the difficulty will not be solved until another inscription of the Śuṅga dynasty containing the genealogy of these kings comes to light. I propose here to recapitulate what has been said by the previous writers before I record my views on the point. Pandit Ratnakara rendered these words as the sixth descendant, brother or son of Pushyamitra and as with the last alternative, Phalgudēva would become identical with Pushyamitra, he thought he could overcome the difficulty by supplying a word like *pūjyasya* between the words *pituḥ* and *Phalgudēvasya* and interpret the expression as " in honour of Phalgudēva, a teacher or deity of his father." Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha favoured the meaning " sixth in descent from Pushyamitra," while Mr. Jayaswal preferred to interpret the expression as the sixth brother of Pushyamitra, making Phalgudēva the father of Pushyamitra. This view was endorsed by Dr. A. Banerji-Śāstrī, who rejected " the descent theory " for the reason that if Dhana[dēva] was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and evidently proud of it, his name would have ended with the word *mitra*. This, as Mr. N. K. Bhattasali[5] has shown, is no real obstacle as the names of several of the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty as given in the *Purāṇas* and found on their coins have different endings. Dr. Śāstrī also emphasises the fact that in the *Smṛitis* ' descent ' is signified by the termination of the 5th case, not the 6th as

[1] *Modern Review*, October 1924, p. 432.
[2] *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari* (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind. No 4) p. 120.
[3] *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, p 204.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.
[5] *Modern Review*, January to June 1925, p. 202.

is the case in the expression under discussion. Mr. N. G. Majumdar has hunted up a parallel expression in verse 88 of the 16th *Sarga* of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The expression in question is *pañchamaṁ Takshakasya*, which is interpreted by three commentators as meaning "grandson of grandson of Takshaka." Mr. Majumdar therefore sees no difficulty in interpreting *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhaḥ* as "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra." In his third article[1] on this inscription, however, Mr. Jayaswal points out that the example from the *Raghuvaṁśa* referred to above is actually interpreted by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takshaka. 'The sixth of Pushyamitra' in the Ayōdhyā inscription should therefore mean the sixth son of Pushyamitra. As, however, this interpretation would make Phalgudēva identical with Pushyamitra, he proposes to read *Dharmarājñā* in the 2nd line as *Dharmarājñī*, and to compound it with the following word *pituḥ*. He thus construes the record as meaning that Dhanadēva, the sixth son of Pushyamitra, erected a house in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of his lawful queen.

It will be seen from the above that the only parallel expression found by the ingenuity of Mr. Majumdar is capable of two divergent interpretations. As has been pointed out by Dr. Banerji-Śāstrī, the inscriptions so far known fail to throw light on the question and he is right in stating that the established custom in epigraphical records is either to name the generations in succession or not at all and that it is not usual to mention a distant stage by omitting the intervening ones. One such example I have indeed secured in verse 44 of the *Vaṁśāvalī* of the Chambā rājās,[2] where we find the words "Mēruvarman was the 10th from Jayastambha" after the nine intervening ancestors of Mēruvarman have been duly referred to in direct succession. Even here, however, the *vibhakti* employed is the fifth, not the sixth or possessive case. An example of this kind with the sixth case ending occurs in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Sarga* 6, verse 29 :—

त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया

"Thou alone, fortunate lady, art fit to be their third."

Sunandā, the attendant of Indumatī, while narrating the achievements of the prince of the Aṅgas observes that the goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, though naturally hostile to each other, together reside in him in peace, thus indicating the propriety of her union with him. It will be observed that though the grammatical construction in this case is the same as in the doubtful expression being discussed, the sense of descent is out of the question. Whether more exact parallels both in form and sense will or will not be found in the vast field of Sanskrit literature, I am unable to say. It seems, however, exceedingly difficult to disregard clear palaeographic evidence and to group this record with the other known documents of the early Śuṅga period. I would, therefore, with Pandit Ratnakara, supply a word like *purushēṇa* after *shashṭhēna* and translate "by the sixth descendant of Pushyamitra". It will be seen from the facsimile that only the first portion of the name of the chief who had this inscription engraved is preserved. Previous writers have restored it as Dhanadēva and Mr. N. G. Majumdar identifies him with a chief of that name whose coins have been found round about Ayōdhyā. Be the name, however, what it may, the inscription has established beyond doubt the fact that Ayōdhyā formed part of the Śuṅga Empire as late as the date of the inscription, which, on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the 1st century A.D.

TEXT.

Line 1. *Kōsal-ādhipēna dvir-aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ sēnāpatēḥ Pushyamitrasya shashṭhēna Kauśikī-putrēṇa Dhana . . . .*

Line 2. *Dharmarājñā pituḥ Phalgudēvasya kētanaṁ kāritaṁ*

[1] *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII. pp. 247-49.

[2] Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 85 :—

मेरुवर्मा जयस्तम्भाद्दशमोऽभूत्.

[The chief point of interest in the inscription is the use of the genitive case in the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhēna*. According to Pāṇini (तस्य पूरणे डट्, मान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट् and षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक्, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48, 49 and 51), the suffix *ḍaṭ* (with the augments *maṭ* and *thuk*) is used in the sense of *pūraṇa*, *i.e.*, येन संख्या संख्यानं पूर्यते संपद्यते स तस्याः पूरणः (*Kāśikā* on the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48), 'that with which a number is completed'. So षष्ठः means षण्णां पूरणः and पञ्चमः, पञ्चानां पूरणः, and so on. In other words, this suffix does not signify any order of descent or kinship and षष्ठेन of the inscription, taken by itself, would simply mean 'by the sixth.' The genitive case, however, would show the *sambandha* or relationship which this person had with Pushyamitra, for that is one of the chief functions of this *vibhakti*. To express 'order of descent' the ablative case should be employed, as a reference to the comments on अन्यारादितरर्त्ते दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, II. iii. 29) would show. We generally say अयमस्मात् पूर्वः, अयमस्मादुत्तरः. This will be made clearer by the following quotation given in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word *sapiṇḍa* :—

" पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतः क्रमात् ।
सपिण्डता निवर्तेत सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥" इत्युद्वाहतत्त्वधृतनारदवचनम् ॥

That *pañchamī* and not *shashṭhī* is generally used in such cases is further shown by the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* (*Aṁśa* III, *Adhyāya* X) and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* LXV) as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word *vivāha*.

" पञ्चमीं मातृपक्षाच्च पितृपक्षाच्च सप्तमीं " and
" पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा "

The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, *Āchār-ādhyāya*, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) would also support the said statement for it says :—

अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ।
पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥ ५३॥

Therefore, if it was the order of descent which the author of the inscription had in view, he would have said पुष्यमित्रात् and not पुष्यमित्रस्य. Consequently, it becomes evident that if any word is to be supplied, it should be पुत्रेण and not पुरुषेण. In consideration of these points, Mallinātha seems to be quite correct in taking पञ्चमं तक्षकस्य (*Raghu.*, XVI, 88) in the sense of 'the fifth son of Takshaka.' To get the meaning attributed to this passage by Chāritravardhana or by Dinakaramiśra, we should expect the ablative case or the form तक्षकात् instead. We say तस्य but not तस्मात् पुत्रः, पौत्रः, प्रपौत्रो वा. Here, we should remember that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives the reading *Pushyamitra-sutāś=ch=āshṭau* which strongly supports the interpretation of षष्ठेन as 'by the sixth son'. Besides, there is no inherent impossibility in the version given in this *Purāṇa* which would necessitate a summary rejection of it. Nor does it imply a sense which is wrong or impossible. Accordingly, the meaning 'by the sixth son of Pushyamitra' seems to be preferable.

As to the two new references given in this article one (त्वमेव कन्याणि तयोस्तृतीया) has no bearing whatsoever on the point under consideration. The other, which is a quotation from the *Vaṁśāvalī* of the rulers of Chambā, would only support the *prati-paksha* or the opposite view in that it uses *pañchamī* and not *shahsṭhī* to express the order of descent of Mēruvarman.—Ed.]

No. 5.—PAHARPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE [GUPTA] YEAR 159.

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Calcutta.

This **copper-plate** was found by me during the excavation of the great temple at **Pāhāṛpur** in the Badalgachi Thana of the Rājshāhi District in Bengal on the 29th November, 1927. It was recovered from the debris that had accumulated on the north-east side of the circumambulatory passage on the second terrace. From the circumstances of the discovery it was apparent that it could not have been originally buried or deposited under the floor of the passage, but was probably brought down from a higher level along with the bricks and mud. It is to be regretted that owing to the inadvertence of the labourer a hole has been made in the upper right hand corner of it and some letters in the three lines at the end of the first side and the first few lines of the second side have become obscure. The left hand margin has also been damaged at places, owing to which circumstance some of the letters written there have disappeared. The plate when dug out was covered with a thick coating of rust and verdigris but has subsequently been cleaned by chemical treatment and proves to have been fairly well preserved. It is rectangular[1] in shape, measures $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and weighs 29 *tōlās*.

The **characters** in which the inscription under notice is written belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the grants 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur[2] copper-plates of the time of Budhagupta. The formation of the medial *ā* by the addition of a stroke at the right lower end of the letters *ga*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *ba*, *ra* and *śa* may be noted. The terminal *m* is written slightly below the top line as will be seen in *-ādhikaraṇam* (l. 1), °*chatushṭayam* (l. 8), *Sam* (l. 20), and *phalam* (l. 24). The rare letter *ḍha* occurs in *āḍhavāpa* (l. 15). The forms of the conjunct letters *ksha* (as in *Dakshiṇā*° l. 1), *hma* (as in *Brāhma*° ll. 3, 12 and 17) and *ñchchhya* (as in *apaviñchchhya* l. 20) are noteworthy. The numerical signs for *100*, *50*, *9*, *7*, *4* and *1* are to be found in ll. 19 to 21. The unusual form of 9 in l. 20, seems to be the prototype of the modern Bengali sign for that digit.

As regards **orthography**, the doubling of *k* before *ya* in °*dīnārikkya*° (ll. 4 and 11), and before *r* in °*vikkrayō*° (ll. 5 and 12), and °*kkramēṇ=ā*° (ll. 5 and 17) requires notice. The consonants *k*, *ṇ*, *d*, *m* and *y* are doubled after *r*, as in °*ārkka*° (l. 20), °*anuvarṇṇy=ā*° (l. 3), °*nirddishṭa*° (l. 18), *śarmmā* (ll. 4 and 12), °*śarmmata* (l. 17), *āryya*° (l. 1), °*bhāryyā*° (ll. 4, 12 and 17), °*āchāryya*° (ll. 6 and 13) and in *dharmma*° and °*dharmmēṇa* in lines 16 and 19. The *v* symbol is used for *b* in °*samudaya-vāhy-ā*° (ll. 4 and 11) and °*vrahubhir*° (l. 23).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The rules of *sandhi* have been very often violated, specially in respect of a *visarga* at the end of a word, as in *āyuktakaḥ āryya*°[3] (l. 1), °*Gōhālītaḥ arddha*° (l. 9), °*virōdhaḥ guṇas*° (l. 16), *kulyavāpa adhyarddhō*° (l. 19). °*Nātha-śarmmā ētad*° in ll. 4 and 12 is also wrong grammatically.

The document under examination **registers the purchase of a fallow state land by a private individual for charitable** purposes. The Dhānāidaha,[4] the Dāmōdarpur,[5] the Farid-

[1] The left hand margin presents a broken appearance in the central portion. It is probable that, as in No. 3 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, there was a semi-circular projection at this place for attaching the seal.

[2] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.

[3] [See f.n. 5 on p. 61 below.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. XVII, pp 345 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

pur[1] and the Ghugrāhāti[2] copper-plates also record similar transactions, the difference being that in the present case the rate at which one *kulyavāpa* of land was sold was 2 *dīnāras* whereas it was 3 in the case of the Dāmōdarpur grants and 4 in the case of the Faridpur ones. As Nos. 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur plates are almost co-eval with the present plate, the difference in the rates mentioned in the two cases must be due to local causes. Probably the quality of the land available was inferior or there was an abundance of fallow land in the locality around Pāhāṛpur. It was, apparently, owing to such considerations that the 5 *drōṇavāpas* (= $\frac{5}{8}$ of a *kulyavāpa* approximately) were, as stated in No. 2 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, granted in lieu of a deposit of 2 *dīnāras*, when the rate was 3 *dīnāras* to a *kulyavāpa*[3].

The grant under notice records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 *dīnāras* or gold coins with the city council (*adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*) to secure 1 *kulyavāpa* and 4 *drōṇavāpas* of land situated at 4 different villages all lying in the Dakshiṇāṁśaka-*vīthī* and Nāgiraṭṭa-*maṇḍala* for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, *etc.*, of the divine **arhats** at the *vihāra* of Vaṭa-Gōhālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (*Śramaṇ-āchārya*) **Guhanandin,** belonging to the Pañcha-stūpa section (*nikāya*) of Benares. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it bespeaks of the religious toleration of the people of the period.

The Jaina *vihāra* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī mentioned in this inscription, it would appear, must have stood at the original site of the present temple at Pāhāṛpur. The boundaries of the site are partly situated within the limits of the village of Gōālbhiṭā to the north-west and the mound where the temple has been unearthed was pointed out to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1807 as ' Gōālbhiṭār Pāhār ' (the eminence of Gōālbhiṭā). The identification of Gōālbhiṭā with the ancient Vaṭa-Gōhālī easily suggests itself as the stem Gōhālī is substantially identical with Gōāl. Few relics of the Jaina faith[4] have come to light during the excavations at Pāhāṛpur, but numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terra-cotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times, have been discovered. In the ninth and the succeeding centuries of the Christian era, the Pāhāṛpur temple was known as the great Buddhist *vihāra* of king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura, the latter place being recognised in the modern village of Ōmpur, a mile to the south of the mound.

Regarding the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal, the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the country of Puṇḍravardhana in the second quarter of the seventh century, records that[5] " there are some 100 Dēva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous." This statement can now be corroborated by the evidence of the present document which speaks of a *vihāra* presided over by a succession of Nigrantha monks, at least 150 years previous to the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the locality. In connection with the name Guhanandin it is worthy of note that the names of the Digambara Āchāryas of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, such as Yaśōnandin, Jayanandin, Kumāranandin, *etc.*, as is shown by the lists, generally end in *nandin*. Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs, beginning with Gupti-Gupta or Viśākh-āchāryya, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II and Guhanandin must have been one of them.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 193 and *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 475.

[2] Above, Vol XVIII, p. 74.

[3] [If the rate was 3 *dīnāras* to a *kulyavāpa*, the price of 5 *drōṇavāpas*, *i.e.*, $\frac{5}{8}$ of a *kulyavāpa* must be 2 *dīnāras*.—Ed.]

[4] [Does this fact support the author's view regarding the situation of the Jaina *vihāra* at the site or suggest that the document under notice was brought from outside ? *Cf.* his remark about the find in para. 1, p. 59, above.—Ed.]

[5] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The procedure followed in ancient Bengal[1] in respect of applications for the purchase and donation of land, as elaborated in the present case, is interesting. The intending donors approached the District Officer (*Āyuktaka*[5]) and the City Council (*Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*) headed by the venerable Mayor (*Nagara-śrēshṭhin*) and requested them for sale of land for charitable purposes at the prescribed rate. The Officer and the Council referred the case, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper and at least five other record-keepers.[2] The latter after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction. The authorities thereupon realised the necessary amount from the applicants and intimated the elders and other householders belonging to the villages concerned to measure out the land and make it over to the applicants for the purpose in view.

The land measure adopted in this grant was based on the measures of grain as is the case in the Dāmōdarpur and other grants. The *kulyavāpa* denoted as much land as could be sown with a *kulya* measure of grain. A *kulya*, according to various ancient authorities, was equivalent to 8 *drōṇas*=32 *āḍhakas*=128 *prasthas*. Other land measures found in the present record are *drōṇavāpa* and *āḍhavāpa*.

The **date** of the grant as given in the inscription is Saṁ 159 Māgha di 7 and, apparently, refers to the Gupta era, which was in use in Bengal when the charter was issued. As such, it would fall in January 479, A.D. The mention of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in l. 16 can only be taken to refer to the reigning sovereign whose name is not mentioned. The Dāmōdarpur plates show that the kingdom of Budhagupta included the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana at this period and it is not improbable that the unspecified reigning sovereign at the time of the issue of the copper-plate was Budhagupta.

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the plate, **Puṇḍravardhana** has been identified by General Cunningham[3] with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthān-gaṛh,' 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. **Vata-Gōhālī**, as stated above, may be the modern Gōālbhiṭā. I am unable to identify the other localities.

TEXT.[4]

Obverse.

1 Svasti [||*] Puṇḍra[varddha]nād=Āyuktakaḥ[5] Āryya-nagara-śrēshṭhi-purōgañ=ch=ādhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇam Dakshiṇāṁśaka-vīthēya-Nāgiraṭṭa-

2 māṇḍalika-Palāśāṭṭa-pārśvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālī-Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Pṛishṭhima-pōttaka-Gōshāṭapuñjaka-Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-

3 Nitva-Gōhālīshu Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=Mahattar-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam=anuvarṇṇy=ānubōdhayanti [| *] Vijñāpayaty=asmān=Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-

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1 [It would be safer to say 'in this part of ancient Bengal' till it is proved by documentary evidence that this procedure was followed in the whole of ancient Bengal.—Ed.]

2 [The Faridpur and the Dāmōdarpur grants mention more than one but less than five record-keepers. Faridpur grant No. 1 mentions only one record-keeper. Will it not be better to say 'the Committee which consisted of one chief record-keeper and very often other subordinate record-keepers'?—Ed.]

3 *A. S. R.*, Vol. XV, pp. 104-117.

4 From the original plate.

5 [The plate correctly gives °*yuktakā āryya*°. This reading would show that there were more *Āyuktakas* than two and that Nātha-śarmmā and his wife Rāmī approached these *Āyuktakas* with their request for the land.—Ed.]

4 śarmmā ētad-bhāryyā Rāmī cha yushmākam=ih-ādhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇē dvi-dīnārikkya-kulyavāpēna śaśvat-kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nīvī-samudaya-vāhy[1]-ā-

5 pratikara-khila-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=arhath=ānēn=aiva kkramēṇ=āvayōs=sakāśād=dīnāra-trayam=upasaṅgṛihy=āvayō[s*]=sva-puṇy-āpyā-

6 yanāya Vaṭa-Gōhālyām=av[2]=āsyāṁ=Kāśika[3]-pañcha-stūpa-nikāyika[4]-nigrantha-Śramaṇ-āchāryya-Guhanandi-śishya-praśishy-ādhishṭhita-vihārē

7 Bhagavatām=Arhatāṁ gandha-dhūpa-sumanō-dīp-ādy-arthan=tala-vāṭaka-nimittañ=cha a[ta*] ēva Vaṭa-Gōhālītō vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhyarddhañ=Ja-

8 mbudēva-prāvēśya-Pṛishṭhima-pōttakēt[5] kshētraṁ drōṇavāpa-chatushṭayaṁ Gōshāṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatushṭayam Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-

9 prāvēśyā-Nitva-Gōhālītaḥ arddha-trika-drōṇavāpān=ity=ēvam=adhyarddhaṁ kshētra-kulyavāpam[6]=akshaya-nīvyā dātum=i[ty=atra] yataḥ prathama-

10 Pustapāla-Divākaranandi-Pustapāla-Dhṛitivishṇu-Virōchana-Rāmadāsa-Haridāsa-Śaśinandi-shu prathamanu[7] . . . . [nā]m=avadhāraṇa-[8]

11 y=āvadhṛitam asty=asmad-adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇē dvi-dīnārikkya-kulyavāpēna śaśvat-kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nīvī-samu[daya-vā]hy[9]-āpratikara-

12 [khila*]-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=yad=yushmām[10]=Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmā ētad-bhāryyā Rāmī cha Palāśāṭṭa-pārśvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālīstha[11] (?)-ya

Reverse.

13 . . . . kа-pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika-āchāryya-nigrantha-Guhanandi-śishya-praśishy-ādhishṭhita-sad-vihārē Arahatām[12] gandha-[dhūp]-ādy-upayōgāya

14 [tala-v*]āṭaka-nimittañ=cha tatr=aiva Vaṭa-Gōhālyāṁ vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhya-rddhaṁ kshētrañ=Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Pṛishṭhima-pōttakē drōṇavāpa-chatushṭayaṁ

15 Gōshāṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatushṭayaṁ Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-Nitva-Gōhālītō drō-ṇavāpa-dvayam=āḍhavā[pa-dva]y-ādhikam=ity=ēvam=a-

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1 Read °*bāhy-ā*°.

2 Read °*ē*°.

3 [Cf. *Nay-Āvakāśikāyām* of the Faridpur grants 2 and 3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 200 and 204.—Ed.]

4 This expression is further characterised as *pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika* in l. 13 of the text. The word *pañcha-nikāyika* is familiar to the students of Buddhism in the sense of 'one who knows the five Nikāyas'. In the present case, however, the word *stūpa* or *stūpa-kula* occurring between *pañcha* and *nikāyika* and its connection with a Jaina preceptor would seem to show that *Nikāya* must be taken here in the sense of a branch (*śākhā*) of the Jaina Āchāryas. Pañcha-stūpa may, in that case, be a place name from which a particular branch of the Jaina Āchāryas may have been known.

5 *t* is redundant here.

6 The engraver first wrote *drōṇavāpam*. but finding his mistake later, appears to have made an attempt at correction. The erased letters *drōṇa* are clearly visible below *kulya*.

7 Some letters after this are lost.

8 [The text of the Dāmōdarpur plates would suggest that *avadhāraṇayā* was preceded by the names of the record-keepers which were put in the genitive plural.—Ed.]

9 Read °*bāhy*°.

10 Read °*yushmān*°.

11 [Compare the reading in l. 6 above. —Ed.]

12 Read *Arhatām*.

FIRST SIDE.

ACTUAL SIZE.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SECOND SIDE.

16 dhyarddhaṁ kshētra-kulyavāpam=prārtthayatē[1]=tra na kaśchid=virōdhaḥ guṇas=tu yat=parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām=artth-ōpachayō dharmma-shaḍ-bhāg-āpyāya-

17 nañ=cha bhavati tad ēvaṅ-kriyatām=ity=anēn=āvadhāraṇā-kkramēṇ=āsmād=Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-śarmmata ētad-bhāryyā-Rāmiyāś=cha dīnāra-tra-

18 yam-āyīkṛity=aitābhyāṁ vijñāpitaka-kram-ōpayōgāy=ōpari-nirddishṭa-grāma-Gōhālikēshu tala-vāṭaka-vāstunā saha kshētraṁ

19 kulyavāpa adhyarddhō=kshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa dattaḥ ku 1 drō 4 [*] Tad=yushmābhiḥ sva-karmmaṇ-āvirōdhi-sthānē shaṭka-naḍair[2]-apa-

20 viñchchhya[3] dātavyō=kshaya-nīvī-dharmmēṇa cha śaśvad=āchandr-ārkka-tāraka-kālam=anu-pālayitavya iti [।*] Sam 100 50 9

21 Māgha di 7 [।*] Uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vyāsēna [*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām [।*]

22 sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir[4]=bhūtvā pitṛibhis-saha pachyatē[॥*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ [।*]

23 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [॥*] Rājabhir=vvahubhir[5]=dattā diyatē cha punaḥ punaḥ [।*] yasya yasya

24 yadā bhūmi[6] tasya tasya tadā phalam [॥*] Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [।*] mahīm=mahimatāṁ[7] śrēshṭha

25 dānāch=chhrēyō nupālanaṁ [॥*] Vindhy ātavīshv=anambunshu[8] śushka-kōṭara-vāsina[ḥ *] kṛishn=āhinō[9] hi jāyantē dēva-dāyaṁ haranti yē [।*]

Abstract of Contents.

Nātha-śarmmā, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer[10] and the City-Council headed by the Mayor (*Nagara-Śrēshṭhī*) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three *dīnāras* in return for 1½ *kulyavāpas* of land distributed among 4 different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower,[11] lamps, *etc.*, and for the construction of a resting place at the *vihāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gōhālī. The details of the lands required were:—Fields measuring 4, 4 and 2½ *drōṇavāpas*, respectively, at the villages of Pṛishṭhima-pōttaka, Gōshāṭapuñjaka and Nitva-Gōhālī; home-stead land measuring 1½ *drōṇavāpas* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī.

1 [Read °*prārthayatē* (°*yētē*°).—Ed.]

2 This expression can be compared with *ashṭakā-navaka-nalābhyām* occurring in the Dāmōdarpur Plates. The present practice in parts of Bengal and Assam is to measure out the lands by *nalas* or reeds of a definite measurement in cubits, which differ in different localities. The *shaṭka, ashṭaka* and *navaka* as referred to the *nalas* may therefore mean *nalas* of so many cubits (*i.e.*, 6, 8 or 9).

3 [Dr. N. P. Chakravarti connects it with the Bengali word *bāchhā* meaning to select or choose.—Ed.]

4 Read *kṛimir*.° [But *krimir*. in is also allowed.—Ed.] 5 Read °*bbahubhir* ° 6 Read *bhūmis*=.

7 Read *matimatāṁ*. [The reading *mahīmatāṁ* given in the plate is also correct.—Ed.]

8 Read *anambushu*. [The plate correctly gives *anambhassu*.—Ed.] 9 Read =*āhayō*.

10 [See foot-note 5 on p. 61 above.—Ed.]

11 The mention of flowers in the worship of the Arhats or Jinas indicates a point of difference between the practice of the old Nigrantha and the modern Digambara Jainas. The latter do not permit the use of flowers in as much as the insects likely to be present in the flowers may be destroyed thereby. The Śvētāmbaras, however, have no objection to this practice.

The Council, in the first instance, consulted the Board of Record-Keepers presided over by Divākaranandin, who pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction, especially as, besides bringing some revenue to the treasury, it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmaṇa couple and recorded the transfer of land.

The village elders of the respective villages at which the lands in question were situated, were then asked by the Council to mark out the boundaries of the lands thus granted and maintain them in perpetuity. The date was the 7th day of Māgha, in the [Gupta] year 159. The usual imprecatory verses follow.

No. 6.—KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

Kōṭavumachgi is a village about 14 miles to the north-east of Gadag, the headquarters of the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The inscription, which is edited below, is engraved on a stone-tablet set up in front of the temple of Kalamēśvara which is standing there. The inscribed portion of the stone covers an area of 6′ 2″ by 1′ 11″ and is in a state of very good preservation. The inscription is neatly written in the **Kanarese script** of about the 11th century A.D. As regards **palaeography**, the chief points requiring notice are : (i) the lingual *ḍ* and *ḷ* are not clearly distinguished from the dental *d* ; compare for example *chhandav-alaṁkāṛa* (l. 25), *paṁneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyaḷe* (l. 34), etc. ; (ii) the *u*-sign is indicated in three different ways, *viz.*, (1) by a short hook at the bottom of the letter as in *Puligeṛe* (l. 7), *paṁneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *vondu* (l. 36), *etc.*, (2) by a mark with a downward bend by the side of the letter, as in *kuḍise kuḍe* (l. 13), *mattar=aydu* (ll. 18, 20), *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), *etc.*, and (3) by a long right side stroke shooting from the bottom of the letter as in *Pushya śuddha* (l. 10), *nivēśanaṁgaḷu* (l. 46) ; (iii) the *e*-sign is given, sometimes, below the letter and resembles the *u*-sign, as in *Puligeṛe* (l. 7) or in *beḷgoḍe* (l. 13). In one case it is represented by a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter, as in *Beḷvola* (l. 7) ; (iv) the final *m* is used in two places, *i.e.*, in ll. 52 and 54 and is shaped like the secondary *ma*. Excepting the three imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, which come at the end, the record is written in **Kanarese prose** of the mediæval period. The words *ghaḻige* (l. 13) (which is a *tadbhava* of *ghaṭikā*) and *chhaṭṭa* (l. 24) (which is the *tadbhava* of *chhātra*) are of lexical interest ; so also, *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyaḷe* (l. 34) and *pāṁkhāya* (l. 41). In **orthography** the only point which requires mention here is the use of *r* and *l* in place of *ṛ* and *ḻ* as in *mūru* (l. 33) and *elu-kōṭi* (l. 48) respectively.

After *svasti*, the inscription opens with the usual prelude announcing that **Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva (V)** was reigning at the time and that **Beḷvola-Three Hundred** and **Puligeṛe-Three Hundred** were administered by his subordinate *Daṇḍanāyaka* **Kēśavayya** whom it describes as 'the obtainer of the five great *śabdas*, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, the great and fierce commander-in-chief of armies and a favourite hero of his master' (ll. 1-8). After giving the date (ll. 9-11) it records that *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśavayya granted, with the king's permission, the village **Ummachige** situated in **Nareyaṁgal-Twelve** to **Maunara Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa** of Rōṇa (ll. 9-13). The latter, in his turn, entrusted it to the 104 *Mahājanas* of the place specifying certain conditions to be observed by them. Lines 14-32 mention the income of certain estates under

different headings, namely, the maintenance of the temples and temple servants, the emoluments of *Bhaṭṭa* and *Akkariga*,[1] the stipends of students and the feeding of the *eḻkōṭi* ascetics.[2] Then follow the specifications of land and taxes levied on festive occasions such as *upanayana*, marriage, vedic sacrifices, Bādube,[3] Kārapuṇṇime and Dīpāḷige, with a remark that they should be enjoyed by the **Ūroḍeya** (ll. 33-36). It further states (ll. 36-43) that fines on certain crimes it has specified, incomes derived from spoils, *daśavandha* (*daśabandha*) of escheat property of persons dying intestate and taxes on musical instruments such as *kaḷe* and *maddaḷe* are to be utilised for repairs, *etc.*, of the tank called **Dēyiṁgeṟe** at Ummachige. Lines 43-46 contain the stipulation that the *Mahājanas* should protect the estates and maintain the gift even in adverse circumstances. The record was written by **Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa** and engraved by **Chāvōja** (l. 54).

The inscription is dated **the Śaka year 934, the 8th day of the bright half of the month Pushya, Paridhāvin** *saṁvatsara*, **Sunday** and **the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.** These details do not appear to be quite regular. Except for the week day, the date corresponds, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris.* to **Tuesday, 23rd December A.D. 1012.**[4]

The inscription is important as it reveals the name of a new subordinate of Vikramāditya, *viz.*, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Kēśavayya** who was administering the two **Six-Hundreds** at the time of the grant. A record[5] secured from Hosūr in the Gadag Taluk dated in A.D. 1029 refers to the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Kēśavarasa in the passage " *Mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyakaṁ śrīmat-Kēśavarasara tadagra-tanūjaṁ* [||*] *Svasti samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabda mahāsandhi-vigrah-ādhipati mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyakaṁ śrī-Vāvaṇarasar=eṟadarunūṟumaṁ...... nāḷuttam=ire......* " as the father of **Vāvaṇarasa** who was then governing the two Six-Hundreds under Jayasiṁha, the younger brother and successor of Vikramāditya V. It is this Vāvaṇarasa who figures as a subordinate of Jayasiṁha II in the Hoṭṭūr inscription of Śaka 959 (A.D. 1037) and the Hulgūr inscription of Śaka 960 (A.D. 1038) [6] Kēśavarasa appears to have succeeded **Śōbhanarasa**[7] in the administration of the two districts, sometime after A.D. 1004 when, according to a record[8] of Yeliśirūr, the latter was stil l the governor. We know from the Nīlgund inscription[9] of Taila II dated in Śaka 904 that **Kannapa** was appointed as the governor of Beḷvoḷa-300 and Purigeṟe-300 by Taila II and that he was succeeded by his brother

[1] *Akkariga* is made up of *Akkara* (Skt. *Akshara*) and *iga*, a *taddhita* termination indicating knowledge, according to the *Sūtra* सद्दे यथेते वा || 167 || of the *Karṇāṭaka-Bhāshābhūshaṇa* of Nāgavarma, p. 62 (Mysore Government edition). The word, therefore, means ' one who is well versed in (the science of) words.'

[2] *Eḻkōṭi* ascetics are probably the devotees of Śiva in the form of Mallāri who with an army of ' seven crores ' destroyed the demons Malla and his brother. See for the story *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30 31.

[3] Bādube is a Kanarese name for the new-moon day of Vaiśākha, Kārapuṁṇime for the full-moon day of Jyēshṭha and Dīpāḷige for the new-moon day of Āśvina. For Kanarese names of all the full-moon days and new moon days of a year, see Dr. Fleet's note in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.

[4] An inscription of Vikramāditya V bearing the Śaka date 93[5] is noticed in Appendix B (No. 722) of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923. But the reading of the last figure is doubtful. (See *ibid* p. 101). A record from Karaḍihaḷḷi in the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 287) belonging to the same king is dated clearly Śaka 933, Paridhāvin, Pushya, Śu. 13, Monday (=Monday, the 29th December A.D. 1012) which may be re garded as his latest date known so far. The present inscription is thus six days earlier than the latest epigraph of Vikramāditya V.

[5] No. 110 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

[6] See above Vol. XVI, pp. 75 ff. and pp. 332 ff. In the published text of the former record, the name appears to have been wrongly read as Chāvaṇarasa.

[7] The relationship between Śōbhanarasa and Kēśavarasa is not disclosed by inscriptions

[8] No. 62 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff.

Śōbhanarasa in the government of those provinces in about A.D. 982. It is likely that Taila II, after overthrowing the Gaṅga chief Pañchaladēva shortly after A.D. 975, invested Kannapa[1] with the governorship of the two districts as stated in the above record. Thus we get, after the downfall of the Gaṅgas, a succession of rulers of the Beḷvola and Purigere provinces in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, namely **Kannapa, Śōbhanarasa, Kēśavarasa** and **Vāvaṇarasa.**

From this inscription it can be gathered that **Ummachige** was a great **educational centre** in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. and maintained a college, with a free hostel attached to it, where instruction was imparted in several sciences. It allots a share of fifty *mattar* with one house-site to the *Bhaṭṭa* who could expound *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara* and twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils studying those subjects, while twenty-five *mattar* and one house-site only are given to the *Akkariga* (man of letters) named **Nāgadēsiga** who could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, *etc.*, and was well versed in grammar. It is enjoined that this Nāgadēsiga should teach his pupils feeding them once a day and supplying them with a cloth every year. These two *vṛittis* are respectively called *bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* and *akkariga-vṛitti* in the record. It is interesting to note that the *Bhaṭṭa* and his pupils are the recipients of separate shares in the village whereas the *Akkariga*, who enjoys a lesser income, has also to feed and clothe his pupils. From this distinction in the two *vṛittis*, it is apparent that the curriculum of education was divided into two sections of which one was intended for specialisation in *śāstras* and the other meant for the general needs of a student. Among the subjects taught, *Nyāsa*[2] was, possibly, be a work on grammar ; *Prabhākara* is a work of the Mīmāṁsā school of philosophy started by Prabhākara.

The record is interesting from another point of view also. It gives us a peep into **the system of village administration** in ancient times in **Karṇāṭaka.** From the details of the grant given in ll. 14-41, it seems that the proper conduct of worship in temples, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village people and the punishment of criminals were the chief items which claimed the immediate attention of the administrator. Regarding the last item, it is worthy of note that the inscription mentions a number of crimes taken cognisance of by the authorities and the penalties imposed in each case.[3] They are : (1) for abusing one another (*baydaḍe*), 2 *paṇas* ; (2) for assault (*baḍidaḍe*), 12 *paṇas* ; (3) for drawing out the dagger (*surige-giltaḍe*), 3 *gadyāṇas*—a *māṇi*[4] who ascends the processional *maṇḍapa* with weapons is excepted. (4) for stabbing (*iridaḍe*), 12 *gadyāṇas* and (5) for a bachelor (*māṇi*) committing adultery (*māṇi sūḷe-gēdaḍe*), 3 *gadyāṇas.* It is stated that the fines thus realised together with the spoils (*kavaḍe*), one-tenth (*daśavandha*)[5] of the escheat property (*aputrika-dravya*)[6] and taxes on musical instruments must be utilised for the upkeep and repairs of the tank called Dēyiṁgere mentioned above. The **Ūroḍeya**, *i.e.*, the village officer was authorised to change the amount

[1] Hebbal inscription of A.D. 975 mentions a certain Kannapayya as the *Perggade* of Bhujagabbarasi, the grandmother of the Ganga chief Mārasiṁha II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.

[2] References to *Nyāsa* in Sanskrit literature show that it must be a grammatical work. See *Catalogus Catalogorum* by T. Aufrecht, p. 312 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XLIV, p. 275 and XLV, p. 25 and Māgha, II, 122.

[3] See *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan* by K. V. S. Aiyer, pp. 326 ff. and *T. A. S*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

[4] *Māṇi* is a *brahmachārin* who does service in the temple. See S. I. I., Vol. III, part iii, p. 227. In line 35, however, it is used in the sense of *upanayana.*

[5] *Daśavandha* means a tenth part ; it does not seem to have been used here in its technical sense of land or of revenue granted as a compensation for the construction, repairs, etc., of a tank, well or channel. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 107, note 12 and page 267, note 2.

[6] According to *Manusmṛiti*, IX 189, *aputrika-dravya* was the state property. In this case, however, it belonged to Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa who set apart one-tenth of it for the purpose specified.

KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V

HIANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

of fines in respect of certain crimes according to the caste of the offender. This is in keeping with the laws laid down in the *Dharmaśāstra.*[1]

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Rōṇa** is the modern Ron, the headquarters of the Ron Taluk in the Dharwar District. **Nareyaṁgal** which was the chief town of **Nareyaṁgal-12,** a sub-division in the **Beḷvola-300 province,** is the modern Naregal situated at a distance of 10 miles from Ron. **Ummachige** is evidently identical with Kōṭavumachgi where the record was found.

TEXT[2]

1 Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha-mahārā-

2 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-ku-

3 ḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chāḷukyābharaṇaṁ śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-Vikra-

4 mādityadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhivṛiddhige salutta-

5 m-ire [|*] Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabda mahāsāmantādhipati

6 mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyakam pati-mechche-gaṇḍaṁ śrīmad-Daṇḍanā-

7 yakaṁ Kēśavayyaṁgaḷ-Beḷvola-mūnūraṁ Puligere-mūnūṛuvaṁ su-

8 kha-saṁkathā-vinōdadin-āḷuttam-iḷdu [||*] Śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-

9 dēvaraṁ prā[r]tthisi Rōṇada Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭargge Śaka-varsha 934-neya

10 Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha ashṭamī Ādityavāra vuttarā-

11 yaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu Nareyaṁgal=Panneradaṟoḷagaṇa Ummachi-

12 [ge]yaṁ sarvvābhyaṁtara-siddhiyāgi sarvvanamasyav-aggrahāraṁ mā-

13 ḍi śāsanaṁ beḷgoḍe ghaḷige verasu paḍedu kuḍise kuḍe paḍed-āyū-

14 ran=ā-Śrīdharabhaṭṭar nūṟanālvar=mmahājanake bharaṇaṁ-geydu tayagaṁ

15 mahājanakkaṁ prajegaṁ māḍida vyavastheyuṁ[3] dharmma-brayad=upabiyada

16 mānyada bhūmiya nivēśanada pramāṇamu[m=e]nt=ene Sōmēśvaradēvargge ma-

17 ttar=āṟu Bhāgiyabbēśvarakke mattar=ppanneraḍu eḻkōṭi-tapōdhanara

18 satrakke mattar=ppanneraḍu Āychagāvuṇḍana dēgulakke mattar=aydu maney=o-

19 ndu Ādityadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=ondu Beṭṭada-Bhagavatige

20 mattar=aydu maney=ondu Nārāyaṇadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=onda=

21 nt=ayvattu mattar=kkeyyuman=avaṟa nivēśanaṁgaḷuvaṁ Bendeyabhaṭārara saṁ-

22 tatiya brahmacharyyavuḷḷa naishṭhika-tapōdhanar=āgiy=anubhavisuvar [|*]

23 Mārakabbe-Bhaṭārige mattar=ppanneraḍu maney=ondu Nyāsaṁ Prabhākara-vuvaṁ

24 vakkhāṇisi guṇaśāsanadin=uṇba bhaṭṭa-vṛitti mattar=ayvattu maney=ondu chchhaṭṭargge

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[1] Compare *Manusmṛiti*, Chapt. VIII, Vv. 267-268 and *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, Chapt. II, Vv. 220-224.

[2] From ink-impression.

[3] The *u*-sign is indistinct and resembles the consonant *y* mark.

25 mattar=irppattaydu gaṇitam jōyisa-chchhanda-vaḷaṁkāravuvan=ābhaya.. veyuvaṁ ba-

26 reyaluṁ bājisaluṁ balla śabda-saṁskāravuḷḷāta Nāgadēsigargge nityasthitiy=o-

27 ndu poḷtaḷ=āhāramuṁ varishakk=ondu kappaḍavuvan=ikkiy=ōdisi guṇaśāsa-

28 nadin=āḷv=akkariga-vṛitti mattar=irppattaydu maney=ondu kuruva-gey=mattar=ppanne-

29 raḍu maney=ondu gaḷaṁtige-gey=mattar=āṟu maney=ondu nāvida-gey=mattar=eṁ-

30 ṭu maney=ondu paṟekāṟargge mattar=ppanneraḍu maney=ondu guṇaśāsanadi-

31 n=āḷvara satrakke mattar=nnūṟu mane yeraḍ=antu dharmma-vrayakkaṁ vupabiyakkaṁ

32 mattar=mūnūṟu Ūroḍeyargge mānyada key=mattar=innūṟu maneg=eṇga-

33 yyagala virppattaygay=nīḷa[da] nivēśanaṁ mūru[1] [sāśva]ta[2] suṁkaṁ gāṇa-veyilige kūṇḍe mu-

34 ṭṭige paḍiyaḷe yajnadal=ondu gadyāṇaṁ . . . . [3]=aydu paṇaṁ madu-veyal=era-

35 ḍu paṇaṁ māṇiyal=ondu paṇaṁ Bā[du]be Kāra-puṇṇami Dīpāḷige mūṟu parvvadoḷaṁ

36 pratyēka vondu gadyāṇa imt=initu=Ūroḍeyargge orbar=orbaraṁ baydaḍe daṇḍav=eraḍu

37 paṇaṁ baḍidaḍe panneraḍu paṇaṁ surige-giḷtaḍe mūṟu gadyāṇav=iṟidaḍe panneraḍu gadyā-

38 ṇaṁ jāti-bhēdav=aṟidu daṇḍavaṁ viśēshaṁ-māḷpa[r] māṇi sūḷe-gēdaḍe[4] mūṟu gadyā-

39 ṇaṁ prāyaschittaṁ-goḷvandu mūṟu gadyāṇaṁ māṇiy=āyudha berasu maṇḍa-pa-

40 vēṟal=sallad=int=ī-daṇḍadoḷaṁ kava[r]tteyoḷav=aputrika-dravyada daśavandhadoḷam puṭṭi-

41 da dravyamuvaṁ kaḷe maddaḷeya paṇamuṁ Dēyiṁgeṟege [||*] Idan=upēkshisidātaṁ

42 keṟeyan=oḍeda pātakan=akkuṁ pārikhāyaṁ modalāg=ella mūrggē . . ni-

43 vēśanaṁ koṭṭa yikkuvavargge gāmuṇḍarggaṁ kiḷjātiya mukkyarggaṁ pra-

44 tyēkaṁ maney=ond=āchandr-ārkka-tāraṁbaraṁ mānyada satrada dharmma-bra-

45 yad=upabiyad=ant=anituv=eḍeya key=mattar=ainūṟuman=[5]alliy=alli-

46 ya nivēśanaṁgaḷuman=enitu dushkālav=āḍaḍaṁ mahājanaṁ kādū-

47 ḍuvar=idakke tappidavar=Kurukshētradoḷaṁ Vāraṇāśiyoḷaṁ

48 eḷu-kōṭi Brāhmaṇaruvan=eḷu-kōṭi tapōdhanaruvan=eḷu-kōṭi

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[1] The word *mūru* is written below the line.

[2] Read [*śāśva*]*ta*.

[3] The writing here is completely effaced.

[4] Read °*geydaḍe*.

[5] Between *rai* and *nū* a superfluous letter which looks like *lu* is written and erased.

49 kavileyuvan=aḷida pañcha-mahā-pātakan=akkuṁ || Sāmānyō-

50 yaṁ dharmma-sētumr(sētur)=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ |

51 sarvvān=ētān=bhāginaḥ pārtthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ||

52 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām [|*] shashṭi varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ[1] jāya-

53 tē krimiḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi-

54 [s=ta]sya tasya tadā phalam || Gōvindabhaṭṭa[ṁ] bareda Chāvōjaṁ kaṇḍarisida maṅgaḷa mahā-śrī [||*]

Translation.

(Ll. 1-4) Hail! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva, the refuge of the whole world, the lord of Fortune and Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the decoration of the race of Satyāśraya, an ornament of the Chāḷukyas, was increasing in prosperity,

(Ll. 5-8) while the chief of great feudatories, the august General who had attained the five *mahāśabdas*, a man of might causing pleasure to his master, the glorious *Daṇḍanāyaka* Kēśavayya was administering with enjoyment of pleasant conversation, the Beḷvola-Three Hundred and Puligeṟe-Three Hundred (*provinces*),

(Ll. 8-13) (*Kēśavayya*), after requesting the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva, made (*the village*) Ummachige situated in Nareyaṁgal-Twelve into an *agrahāra* on *sarvanamasya* tenure along with full and complete rights of enjoyment of all the properties and obtaining it (*from him*) together with the royal charter, the white umbrella and *ghaḷige* (*i.e.*, an assembly hall)[2], caused it to be granted to Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭa of Rōṇa, on the eighth day of the bright half of Pushya, Sunday, the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti, in the Śaka year 934 corresponding to the cyclic year Paridhāvi.

(Ll. 13-16) That Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, after thus getting it, entrusted the village to the hundred and four Mahājanas with the conditions of enjoyment by himself, the Mahājanas and the people (*of the village*); the extents of land and house-sites for meeting the expenses of charity, other auxiliary objects and for grants for services (*mānya*) are as follows :—

(Ll. 16-22) Six *mattar* to god Sōmēśvara, twelve *mattar* to (*the temple of*) Bhāgiyabbēśvara[3]; twelve *mattar* to the feeding house of *eḷkōṭi* ascetics; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Āychagāvuṇḍa's temple; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Ādityadēva; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to (*the goddess*) Beṭṭada-Bhagavati; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to god Nārāyaṇa—these fifty *mattar* of land in all and the house-sites attached to them must be enjoyed by the bachelors of the family of Bendeyabhaṭāra, following the course of the *naishṭhika*[4] ascetics.

[1] Read *vishṭhāyāṁ*.

[2] See above Vols. XIII, p. 327n and XV, p. 93.

[3] The temple was perhaps named after Bhāgalabbe, the mother of Vikramāditya V.

[4] *Naishṭhika* is one who lives in the house of his preceptor as a *brahmachārin* throughout his life. He is described as follows in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* :—

नैष्ठिको ब्रह्मचारी च वसेदाचार्यसन्निधौ । तदभावेऽस्य तनये पत्न्यां वैश्वानरेऽपि वा ॥

अनेन विधिना देहं साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रियः । ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति न चेह जायते पुनः ॥

(Ll. 23-32) Twelve *mattar* and one house(*-site*) to the deity Mārakabbe Bhaṭāri, fifty *mattar* and one house(*-site*) towards *bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* to be enjoyed in return for performing the duties of expounding *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara*, twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils, twenty-five *mattar* and one house(*-site*) as *akkariga-vṛitti* to Nāgadēsiga who was able to compose and expound (*the works on*) mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics and .... and who had a knowledge of sounds (*i.e., Vyākaraṇa*), to be utilised for his daily requirements in virtue of his services of teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying (*them*) with a cloth every year ; twelve *mattar* and one house(*-site*) for (*the supply of*) tender cocoanuts[1] ; six *mattar* and one house(*-site*) for (*the supply of*) vessels[2] for *abhishēka* ; eight *mattar* of land and one house(*-site*) for barbers ; twelve *mattar* and one house(*-site*) for drummers ; (*one*) hundred *mattar* and two house(*-sites*) to the feeding-house of those that manage by *guṇaśāsana*.[3] Thus in all three hundred *mattar* (*were set apart*) for charity and auxiliary expenses.

(Ll. 33-36) Two hundred *mattar* as *mānya* land and three house(*-sites*)—eight hands broad and twenty-five hands long each—to the Ūroḍeya. Moreover, the Ūroḍeya(*shall get these following*) taxes permanently :—a *kūṇḍe* for the open space of an oil-press ; the reaper of a door-frame for every set of wooden materials (*for building purposes*)[4] ; one *gadyāṇa* for a vedic sacrifice ; five *paṇas* for ...., two *paṇas* for a marriage ; one *paṇa* on the occasion of *upanayana*, one *gadyāṇa* severally on the three *parvas* of *Bīlube, Kārapuṇṇime* and *Dīpāḷige*.

(Ll. 36-43) The incomes accruing from the following fines, *viz.*. two *paṇas* for abusing one another, twelve *paṇas* for beating ; three *gadyāṇas* for drawing out the dagger, twelve *gadyāṇas* for stabbing—(*they*) may change (*the amount of*) fine considering the distinction of caste—three *gadyāṇas*, in case a bachelor commits adultery ; three *gadyāṇas* on the occasion of purification ceremony—except when a *māṇi* gets up a processional *maṇḍapa* with weapons[5] ; that obtained as spoils (*after a raid*), one-tenth (*daśavandha*) of the escheat property of persons dying intestate and the taxes on (*musical instruments*) *kaḷe* and *maddaḷe* (*the drum*) ; all these shall go to (*the tank called*) Dēyiṁgeṟe. He who neglects this shall incur the sin of breaking the tank. A house-site . . . . including *pārikhāya*, etc., (*was set apart*). Those that keep a cowpen (*koṭṭa*), the *gāmuṇḍas* and the chief men of the low caste (*must get*) one house(*-site*) each.

(Ll. 43-46) The five hundred *mattar* (*of land*) and the respective sites (*attached to them*), (*granted*) as *mānya*, and for the purposes of feeding house, charity and auxiliary gifts, the *Mahājanas* shall protect and cause to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (*exist*), however adverse the times may be.

(Ll. 46-48) Those that fail (*to carry this out*) shall incur the five great sins consequent upon the killing at Kurukshētra and Vāraṇāsi, of seven crores of Brahmins, seven crores of ascetics and seven crores of tawny cows.

(Ll. 48-53) Three imprecatory verses.

(L. 54) Gōvindabhaṭṭa wrote (*this*) ; and Chāvōja engraved. (*May there be*) fortune and great prosperity.

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[1] *Kuruva* seems to stand for *kurube* which means a tender cocoanut. (See Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 446.)

[2] The word used here is *gaḷantige* which is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *galantikā*. It means a small water-jar with a hole in the bottom from which the water drops upon a *liṅga*.

[3] The exact significance of this word is not clear.

[4] For the meaning of the word *muṭṭu*, see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 1263.

[5] This parenthetical clause evidently provides an exception to the fine stated above for drawing out the sword.

No. 7.—THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA.

By K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister at-Law, Patna, and Professor R. D. Banerji[1], M.A., Benares Hindu University.

This inscription is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the **Hāthīgumphā**, an artificial cave, on the southern face of the **Udayagiri**, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvaneśvar in the Purī district of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825[2] and was published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837.[3] In 1877 Cunningham published a tracing in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*[4] In 1880 the late Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra published another version of this inscription.[5] About this time a cast of this inscription was prepared and taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The first reliable version of the record was issued from the able pen of the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1885.[6] In 1895 and 1898 the late Dr. Bühler proposed certain corrections.[7] The first inked impression was taken by the late Dr. T. Bloch in 1906 and sent to Prof. Kielhorn from whom it passed on to the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, who published two short notes proposing certain corrections in the reading of the 16th line.[8] In the same year Prof. Lüders of Berlin published a summary of this inscription.[9] In 1913 RDB[10]. examined portions of this record at the request of KPJ., and in 1917 he prepared two inked impressions at the request of the late Dr. V. A. Smith and KPJ.,[10] one of which was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,*[11] and the second sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas, the then editor of this journal. Soon after the publication of the text, KPJ. went to the cave and prepared a revised text of his readings from the rock itself and published the same in 1918 in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*[12] Sir Edward Gait, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, who was greatly interested in the decipherment of the inscription, arranged a deputation of RDB., the then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archæological Survey of India, to go with KPJ. and in 1919, we both examined the entire inscription on the spot. In the meantime a cast of the inscription was prepared at the suggestion of KPJ. by the Government of Bihār and Orissa. The order of Sir Edward Gait in this respect was executed by the late Mr. H. Panday of the Archæological Survey Department who had accompanied KPJ. formerly and had become familiar with the inscription and the problems connected with it. This cast is now preserved in the Patna Museum. It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be. Two impressions on paper were also taken for the Patna Museum. With the help of these materials the study was carried on by KPJ. at Patna. In 1924 both of us again went over the corrections. In 1927 KPJ. published the results of his further studies in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* with new plates prepared

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[1] [I am sorry to record here his sad and untimely death which took place at Calcutta on 23rd May 1930. Scholars of Mr. R. D. Banerji's type it is difficult to replace.—Ed.].

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 313 ff.

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1075-91, pl. LVIII.

[4] Pp. 27 f., 98-101, 132 ff., pl. XVII.

[5] *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 16 ff.

[6] *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, pt. III, section 2, pp. 152-177.

[7] *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13=*Origin of Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, pp. 13 f.

[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242 ff. and 824.

[9] *Ante*, Vol. X, App., pp. 160-61, No. 1345.

[10] [Author's initials].

[11] Vol. III, pl. I.

[12] Vol. IV pp. 364 ff.

from the paper impressions preserved in the Patna Museum.[1] In 1928 some further notes were published by him in the same journal.[2] We have again conjointly examined the cast and the impressions and effected a few important improvements in the reading and explanation as offered below. Amongst notable contributions on the problems connected with the inscription, we refer to the articles by Dr. Sten Konow[3] and Dr. F. W. Thomas.[4] We have to thank our friend Prof. Anant Sadashiv Altekar for the help he has rendered to us in preparing the notes for this edition.

The Hāthīgumphā appears to have been a natural cavern which was later on converted into a temple or residence. The roof consists of a huge boulder, and the inscription begins on the southern face but is continued up to a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them. Both of us had to recline partly on our backs to read the portion from the rock. Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barābar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rock-cut partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the 10th or the 11th century A.D.) many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest.[5] They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the 10th century and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. It seems reasonable to expect that the great Jaina king Khāravela inscribed the record of his reign at a place which was holy in his eyes. Is it impossible that this is the place where Mahāvīra had preached the Jaina religion in Kaliṅga, because this inscription proves that the place was included in Kaliṅga at that time and there is a distinct reference to the preaching of Jainism in its 14th line? The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined. Three stone pillars have lately been put up in front of the cave, to protect the inscription from the effects of the weather, under the orders of Government. The Hāthīgumphā stands at right angles to the Svargapurī and Mañchapurī on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right. There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave. As a whole the entire record has been very carefully inscribed. In two places only letters have been left out. In l. 14 the letter *ya* in *arahayate* was left out and incised between ll. 14 and 15, its position in l. 14 being indicated by a *kākapada*. Two other letters *sa* and *ha* (?) are to be found in the interspaces immediately after *ya* but cannot be connected with any word in l. 14.

As regards **orthography** the inscription presents very few peculiarities. Ligatures are carefully avoided and the only instances where we meet with them are *Kañha-bemṇā-* (l. 4), *Bamhaṇānaṁ* (l. 9) and *-viniśrito* (l. 17). In the majority of cases the nasals are replaced by *anusvāra* excepting the places where they are used either as initials or medials. The initial forms are to be seen in *-ñāvakehi* (l. 14) and *ñaninaṁ* (l. 15) and the medial forms in °*rañī*° (l. 15) and in the ligature in *Kañha-bemṇā-* (l. 4). The use of the cerebral nasal is erratic and in the majority of cases the dental has been used but the cerebral is rather rare and is to be met with in *sampuṇa-* (l. 2) and *guṇa-* (l. 17) only. With the exception of two cases all the sibilants are dental. These two cases are the cerebral in *-desha-* (l. 11) and the palatal in *-viniśrito*

[1] Vol. XIII, pp. 221 ff.
[2] Vol. XIV, pp. 150 ff.
[3] *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.
[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 83 f.
[5] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

(l. 17). The writing seems to have been done by three different hands, and it is possibly on this account that the forms of the characters sometimes differ. The first part of the inscription was written on a carefully dressed surface but after the 4th and 5th lines the surface was undressed; and towards the end of all the lines after the 5th there are numerous chisel-marks which make the decipherment extremely difficult.

The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit. The use of *ra*, the affix *o* at the end of the nominatives of masculine stems ending in *a*, and the absence of palatal *śa* show that it is not Māgadhī or any eastern dialect of it. Throughout the inscription the dental has practically replaced all other sibilants. The doubling of consonants, even when necessary, has been omitted. The cerebralisation of dentals is also to be seen, as in *-paṭisaṁkhāraṇaṁ* (l. 3). There is also an attempt to approach classical Sanskrit in certain cases, *e.g.*, *Māhāmeghavāhanena* (l. 1) and *vaṁdāpayati* (l. 12), *etc.* Throughout the record the liquifaction of consonants is absent. This would indicate that the record was composed by a man from Western India who wrote in a literary dialect. It is quite possible that the record was composed by a Jaina monk from Gujarāt or the Mahārāshṭra who might have been brought into Kaliṅga by King Khāravela for the purpose mentioned in l. 16. The language of the record is a very near approach to the canonical Pali. But, as in Jaina Śaurasēnī, *tha* in this dialect becomes *dha*, *cf. padhame* (l. 3), °*radha*° (l. 4), *vitadha* (l. 5), *Goradhagiri-* (l. 7), *Madhuraṁ* (l. 8), *Bharadhavasa-* (l. 10), *Utarāpadha-* (l. 11), but not in all cases, *cf. Pīthuṁḍa-* (l. 11). The extraordinary form *chavuthe* (l. 5) is a graphic form of *chaüthe*, but Prakrit *chaü* becomes *cho* in *Choyaṭhi* (l. 16) which is a later Prakrit form of *chatuḥshashṭi*. So also Sanskrit *tvaritam* becomes *turiyaṁ* (l. 16) instead of *turiaṁ*. Perhaps *turitam* was the intermediate form but the change of *ta* into *ya* instead of *a* is exceptional.[1]

The **characters** of the inscription show great variety. Among the vowels, the initial forms of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *e*, *o* are to be found in it. The medial *ā* is denoted by a perfectly horizontal line in many cases as well as by a slanting stroke, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l. 4) and *-samuthāpitāhi* (l. 15). The medial form of the long *ī* shows two diverging slanting strokes, in *-sarīra-* (l. 2) and two converging curved strokes in *kīḍitā* (l. 2). Among consonants two different forms of *kha* are noticeable, *Khāravele*° (l. 1) and *lekha*° (l. 2) in which the triangle at the bottom is either present or absent. Two different forms of *ga* are present, the angular Maurya form as in *nagariṁ* (l. 5), and the broad-backed Kushāṇa form, as in *Kaliṁg-ā*° (l. 1). Three forms of *gha* are clear :—(1) the Maurya form with a circular bottom, (2) the transitional form in which the only side of the curve has turned into a right angle, *cf. -oghāṭitaṁ* (l. 6), and (3) the complete second century form in which, though the length of the left-hand side vertical is not reduced, the lower part of the letter consists of two right angles instead of a curve. Two different forms of *ta* are to be found : the Maurya, as in *hita-*, *-ti-vasa-* (l. 6) and the later, as in °*pateye* (l. 6). In the case of *da* also we find two forms : the Maurya, as in *paṁdarasa-* (l. 2) and the later, as in °*dāti* (l. 9). Three different forms can be distinguished in the case of *pa* and *ma* :—(1) the Maurya form, as in *paṭhāpayati* and *pachhima-* (l. 4); (2) the transitional form, as in *-patinā* (l. 1), *-kāraṇāpanāhi* (l. 5), *maṭuka-* (l. 7), *Madhuraṁ* (l. 8), *etc.*; (3) the later form with angles fully developed in the place of curves as in *kapa-rukhe* (l. 9), *apayāto* (l. 8), *-samāja*° (l. 5), and *Satamam* (l. 7). It should be noted that the Kushāṇa form of *ma* is altogether wanting in this inscription. So also in the case of *ha* we find the Maurya form in *-sahasehi* and *haya-* (l. 4), the transitional form in *Mahārāja*° and *Māhāmeghavāhane*° (l. 1) and the angular form in *-vavahāra-* (l. 2). The general duct of the writing shows that the Hāthīgumphā inscription was inscribed at a time when the length of the verticals had not begun to decrease and the curves had just begun to become angularised. Therefore, this inscription

[1] [See f. ns. 11 & 12 on page 89 below.—Ed.]

belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathurā edited by Bühler[1], and it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. or later than that of the 1st century B.C. For *na*, *ṇa* and other letters a reference is invited to the detailed palæographical analysis by RDB, elsewhere.[2]

There are two **symbols**, one over the other at the beginning, and one at the end of the record. At the beginning the first symbol looks like a crown. KPJ. identifies it with the *Vaddha-maṅgala.*[3] The second is the *Svastika*. The last symbol is the Sacred Tree within a square enclosure or railing. There is an elaborate system of **spacing** in this record, the larger, corresponding to full stops. There is space before almost every proper name. The smaller spaces indicate clauses of a sentence.

It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is **no date** in a Maurya era in the 16th line of this inscription, as supposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly. The date will therefore depend upon synchronisms. The first of these synchronisms is with **Sātakaṁni**. It is now absolutely certain that the family name of the dynasty founded by Simuka is Sātavāhana and not Śātakarṇi.[4] The Nānāghāṭ inscriptions supply the label *Rāyā Simuka-Sātavāhano* for the statue of Simuka. There were more kings than one of the name of Śātakarṇi, and the first king of that name is called Siri Sātakaṁṇi both on his coins and in the label on his statue at Nānāghāṭ. Subsequent Śātakarṇis with whose names we meet in epigraphical records added their metronymics to distinguish themselves from their predecessors, *e.g.*, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva-Śrī Śātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. It is therefore evident that this record refers to a Śātakarṇi who was a contemporary king in the Western regions. The name is not to be taken as a reference to an unidentified dynastic title. And the only king of this dynasty who can safely be ascribed to the period when Khāravela was ruling is Śrī Śātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, and not Gautamīputra or Śiva-Śrī or Śrī Yajña. About Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi it is to be observed that the long record in cave No. 3 in the Pāṇḍuleṇā group does not mention the king or the country of Kaliṅga, and thereby proves that Kaliṅga or Orissa was not included in his conquests and, very probably also, that he did not come in close contact with Khāravela or any other king of Kaliṅga, though the Amarāvatī and China inscriptions of Pulumāvi and Śrī Yajña prove definitely that the whole of Kaliṅga had passed under their dominion.[5] The other kings of the name of Śātakarṇi are excluded as being, *inter alia*, too late to be Khāravela's contemporaries. According to the Purāṇic lists Śātakarṇi II comes 36 years after Śātakarṇi I. RDB. has proved that the dissentient view about the Hāthīgumphā inscription being later than the Nānāghāṭ records is untenable.[6] Therefore the Śātakarṇi of the Hāthīgumphā inscription must be Śātakarṇi I. The statement in l. 6 about Khāravela's subjugation of the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** shows that up to the 4th year of the reign of Khāravela they existed as separate states, as in the time of Aśōka, but subsequently these states must have been swallowed up by the Sātavāhanas. Therefore, Khāravela's conflict with Śātakarṇi must have taken place

[1] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 198.

[2] *Memoirs, A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 133 ff.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 429.

[4] KPJ. put it forward in 1914 in his *Brahmin Empire*, and the view has been confirmed by the discovery of the last record of the family-name, clearly. *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 153. *Sātavāhana* as the family-name is fully borne out by literature. [See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 258 ff. on Sātavāhana history.—K. P. J.]

[5] *Ante*, Vol. X, App. Nos. 1248 and 1340.

[6] *Memoirs, A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 145. [See also *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 258 ff.—K. P. J.]

before the formation of the Sātavāhana empire covering the whole of Marāṭhī-speaking (*e.g.*, Barhāḍī, Khāndeśī, Northern Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī) area.

The reference in the 6th line to the canal from *Tanasuliya-vāta*, which was excavated in the year 103 of King **Nanda**, will fix the upper limit of Khāravela's time, like the reference to **Muriya-kāla** (the time of Muriya in l. 16). Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in the Yeḍarāve inscription is said to have established his Chālukya era after abolishing the eras of Vikramāditya, Nanda and Śaka. " Having said ' Why should the glory of the Kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer ? ', he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (*era*) which has the Chālukya counting ".[1] Again, we have the definite datum that Alberuni found in use in his time an era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king (Nanda Vardhana).[2] The year 103 of the Nanda era would correspond to 355 B.C. when the Tanasuliya canal, which Khāravela extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated. If we take this Nanda to be the last Nanda, Khāravela would be referring to (325 B.C.—103=)c. 222 B.C. and not to any later year. But we have something more definite in the next datum, namely, the contemporaneity with **Bahasatimita.** In line 12 Khāravela reaches the **Sugaṁgīya** palace, *i.e.*, the famous Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the *Mudrārākshasa*.[3] Bahasatimita is expressly called the King of Magadha. Now we know from coins that Bahasatimitra and Agnimitra issued coins of the same type. This much we may take as certain that the time of Bahasatimitra, whosoever he may be, is the first half of the 2nd century B.C.[4] Āshāḍhasēna, who belonged to the royal family of Adhichchhatrā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahasatimitra in the **Pabhosā** inscription,[5] and Āshāḍhasēna dates his record in the 10th year of Odraka,[6] whom **KPJ.** has identified with a king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bahasatimitra's coins have been found at Kosam (Kauśāmbī)[7] which was a state on the borders of Magadha. The characters of the coins agree with those of the Hāthīgumphā inscription.[8] As Bahasatimitra does not occur in the list of the Mauryan kings and as his connection with the family of Odraka is indicated by the Pabhosā record, we are justified in taking him as one of the early Śuṅgas before Odraka, the fifth king of the line. In other words, Khāravela's contemporary Bahasatimita would belong to a period between 188 B.C. and c. 125 B.C. It is true that we do not find the name of Bṛihaspatimitra in the Śuṅga list. But we have the explanation given in the *Purāṇas* themselves. It is reported there that Pushpamitra made others rule ; the *Vāyu* says that be made his 8 sons rule equally, *i.e.*, with equal powers.[9] We know that Agnimitra ruled at Vidiśā with a separate court of his own. Probably the 6th son was ruling in Kōsala as the Śuṅga inscription at Ayōdhyā would suggest.[10] It is significant that Pushyamitra is not called king in this record, but his title *Sēnāpati* is there just as it is in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra.* Similarly the dating on the Bhārhut gate " in the reign of the Śuṅgas " confirms the Purāṇic datum that several sons ruled at the same time (*in different parts*) under Pushyamitra. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* places in the imperial list (*of Magadha*) the sons of Agnimitra, and not Agnimitra himself, after Pushyamitra. As

[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 477.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237, 241 : Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 5 to 7.

[3] Act III.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 525.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 242.

[6] *Ibid.* For *Udraka* as a proper name compare *Divyāvadāna*, p. 392.

[7] *Ante*, p. 243 n. 17.

[8] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 155.

[9] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 202, Vol. XIII, pp. 247 and 248.

[10] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247, 248 and p. 57 above.

Bṛihaspatimitra is not in the royal list of Magadha between Agnimitra's sons and Odraka, we shall be justified in taking him to a period before Agnimitra's sons succeeded to the Magadha throne, *i.e.*, to the time of Pushyamitra himself.[1]

The most important contribution of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is the synchronism of Khāravela with the **Indo-Greek king Demetrios.** This important discovery was made in November 1919,[2] and it was settled that after the phrase *Yavana-rāja* comes the name Dimita... ....Beyond this name not a single succeeding word of the sentence can be read. Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, is generally well-known as the conqueror of India. It is mentioned in a verse of Chaucer quoted nearly half a century ago by Cunningham. Strabo refers to the fact that the kingdom of Bactria had expanded in a remarkable way beyond its original limits and that the kings responsible for its enlargement were Demetrios and Menander.[3] Beyond this nothing could be said about the Indian conquests of Demetrios before the discovery of the king's name in the Hāthīgumphā record. Justin calls him the king of the Indians. He was probably driven out of Bactria by a rival king named Eukratides and had to settle down in Afghānistān and India. The surest indication of his dominion over some part of India is the use of the Kharōshṭhī script on some of his copper coins with the use of the title *Aparajita.*[4] Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of Demetrios except through synchronisms. He conducted negotiations between his father Euthydemos I and Antiochus III of Syria and married the latter's daughter. Therefore he must have been a young man towards the close of the third century B.C. His Indian campaigns appear to have been undertaken when he had come to the throne in mature age, and his coins show that he was between 30 and 35 when his reign began.[5] Numismatists distinguish two Demetrioses, taking Demetrios II to be the son of Demetrios I.[6] It would be absurd to say that the Indian conquests of the first dynasty of the Bactro-Greek kings were made by Demetrios II. The Indian campaigns of Demetrios and his advance at Pāṭaliputra are distinctly described in *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā.* The historical text of the work has been recently collected from different MSS. by KPJ.[7] Section 5 contains the account of the Greek invasion of Pāṭaliputra and a battle at that place. It is stated that after conquering Sākēta, Mathurā and Pañchāla the Greeks reached Kusumadhvaja, and at Pushpapura, *i.e.*, Pāṭaliputra, there was a great battle fought on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistae or catapultae), and the outlying districts became full of disorder. Further on (section 7) there is a mention of Demetrios as *Dharmamīta* where it is distinctly stated that his officers would oppress the people. Finally it is stated that intoxicated with fighting the Greeks would not stay in the Middle Country and that there would be a furious civil war among themselves in their own country. This statement is corroborated by the Greek accounts of the great civil war in Bactria and Afghānistān between Demetrios and his successors and Eucratides

[1] The objection of Prof. Rapson (*Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, p. 537, note) that there is an interval of 25 years between Pushyamitra and Odraka, and therefore Āshāḍhasēna, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, cannot be connected with Bahasatimitra of Pabhosā has not much force in a country where people marry more than one wife at the same time and where maternal uncles are often found to be much younger than their nephews.

[2] It was announced by Sir Edward Gait in his presidential address to the Bihār and Orissa Research Society in 1920 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 5). The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri did not notice this discovery even in 1922-23. *Cf. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

[3] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, pp. 444-45.

[4] *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

[5] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Plate III. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 451.

[7] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 397-421 and Vol. XV. pp. 129-133.

and the kings of the dynasty founded by him. Therefore his mention in the Hāthīgumphā inscription proves definitely that Khāravela must have flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

The compilation (*upādayati*) of the **Aṁgas** is described in line 16 as the crowning act of glory of Khāravela. This was undertaken and completed in the 13th year. Learned Jainas from all over India were assembled in a conference (*saṁghayanaṁ*), evidently on the Kumārī Hill of sacred associations, and they put together once more the scattered or lost sacred texts of Jainism. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭaliputra after the 12 years' famine was over but that no agreement cou'd be reached as to the restoration of the texts. Khāravela's wide conquests from the Pāṇḍya country up to the North-Western Frontiers and from the Marāṭhā country up to Magadha and his consequent political influence made it possible for him to have the texts recompiled. That the term '*Aṅga*' denotes the Jaina canonical *Aṅgas* is proved by the adjective 'consisting of 64' (*choyaṭhi*), which is a very difficult and mysterious expression. The Jaina tradition says that 64 letters make up the Jaina sacred literature. The Jainas at present give a mystic interpretation, *vide* Mr. J. L. Jaini in his *Introduction* to the *Jīva-Khaṇḍa* of the *Gōmmaṭasāra* at p. 12. He says :—"The knowledge of Śruti, Śruta-Jñāna, may be of things which are contained in the Aṅgas (Limbs or sacred books of the Jainas) or of things outside the Aṅgas. There are 64 simple letters of the alphabet. Of these 33 are consonants, 27 vowels and 4 auxiliary (which help in the formation of compound letters). The total number of possible combinations of these 64 simple letters into compounds of 2, 3, 4, or more up to 64 letters is : $2^{64}-1$=1,84,46,74, 40,73,70,95,51,615.

"These are the letters (simple and compound) of Śruta in its entirety. This number being divided by 16,348,307,888, which is the number of letters in a central foot (*madhyamapāda*) of the Paramāgama (Sacred Jaina Literature), gives us the number of padas of the Aṅgas as 11,283, 58,005. The remainder 80,108,175 gives us the letters of that part of Śruta which is not contained in the Aṅgas. This part is divided into 14 Prakīrṇakas ".

In our opinion the Jainas had an alphabet of 64 letters several of which were not actual letters but symbols.

One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 Aṅgas were recovered after the loss. If we read "*Aṅga-satika-turiyaṁ*" instead of "*Aṁga satika(ṁ) turiyaṁ*" we may get the meaning that the re-compiled Aṅgas were in two groups, *Satika* = *saptika*, group of seven texts, and *Turiya* = *turīya*, a group of four texts. In any case the Jaina tradition about the loss and the recovery of the texts stands confirmed, and here we find another instance of the faithfulness of the Jaina tradition. The monks honoured at the Kumārī Hill in the 13th year were Śvētāmbaras as they were given pieces of China-cloth (silk) (*china-vatāni* = *chīna-vastrāṇi*)[1] and white robes (*vāsa-sitāni*). Khāravela, by his religious enterprise, was emulating Chandragupta and Aśōka. But posterity has completely forgotten him.

Fortunately the majority of the names of places mentioned in this record can be identified. **Kaliṁganagarī** is the ancient capital. Kaliṅga, a city which has now disappeared, lay close to Kaliṅgapaṭanam, a place on the Bay of Bengal in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. **Kañha-beṁnā** is Kṛishṇa-verṇā[2] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period and the modern Kṛishṇā. **Musika-nagaram** was probably a city on the river Mūsī in its upper reaches near Gōlkoṇḍa–Hyderābād[3]

[1] On the occurrence of *Chīna* in the *Arthaśāstra* and its connection with *Shina* the Gilgit tribe see '*Hindu Polity,*' I, 212 ; *cf.* Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pt. 4, p. 5n.

[2] [The Kaṇṇapeṇṇa or Kaṇṇabaṇṇā of Pali literature.—Ed.]

[3] The confluence of the *Mūsī* and the *Kṛishṇā* is mentioned in a copper-plate, *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 209. [Muziris on the Malabar coast is suggested as a possible alternative—R. D. B.]

As to the peoples mentioned in the inscription the **Raṭhikas** are probably the Mahâraṭhis or the people of northern Mahārāshṭra, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the modern districts of East Khāndesh, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Poona and the northern *taluks* of Sholāpur ; the **Bhojakas** are likely the same as Mahābhōjas, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār.

The **Tanasuliya** or **Tanasuliya-vāṭa** cannot be identified by us. **Vajiraghara** remained under the same name till the 12th century A.D. when it is mentioned by Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I or the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa Rājēndra Chōḷa II, as **Vayirāgara** in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Ādhipurīśvara temple inscription of the second year. It states that Rājakēsarivarmaṉ *alias* Rājēndra Chōḷa II captured elephants at this place and defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭṭa. In the Pāṇḍava-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram another Tamiḻ inscription of the 5th year of the same king, who is called Rājakēsarivarmaṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I, informs us that the king's victories at Vaijirāgara and Chakrakōṭṭa were gained while he was the heir-apparent, *i.e.*, before 8th October 1070 A.D. Chakrakōṭṭa has been correctly identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Chakra-Koṭyā in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces. It is therefore certain that this Vayirāgara is the same as modern Wairagaḍh in the Chanda district of the same province. Kielhorn restored the name *Vayirāgara* as *Vajrākara.*[1] The form *Vajiraghara* in this record shows that the original form was *Vajra-gṛiha* or *Vajra-gaḍha* in Prakrit which came to be written as Vayirāgaram in Tamiḻ. Both Chakra-Koṭyā and Wairagaḍh are on the road from Central Kaliṅga to Southern Mālwā. **Goradhagiri** is no doubt the ancient name of the Barābar Hills in the Gayā district, as proved by Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.E.S., the late principal of the Patna College who, along with Mr. Russell, discovered the inscriptions on boulders near the top, giving the name correctly as *Gōrathagiri.*[2] Mr. Jackson also described immense fortifications on the hill top.[3] The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of Magadha, Girivraja or Rājagṛiha or Rājagaha. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* where the route of Bhīma and Kṛishṇa to Girivraja is described.[4] **Rājagṛiha** or Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha, still exists as *Rājgīr*, famous as a Jaina *Tīrtha* and for its hot springs, in the Bihār sub-division of the Patna district of Bihār and Orissa.[5] **Madhura** is undoubtedly the northern Mathurā in the United Provinces. **Bharadhavasa** (Skt. *Bhāratavarsha*) means the plains of Northern India. **Pithuṁḍa** is Ptolemy's *Pitundra*, a city which no longer exists, but which was an important port even in the first century A.D.[6] **Tamira** or **Tramira** is equal to *Draviḍa* or *Dramiḷa, i.e.*, the *Tamiḻagam* or the Tamiḻ speaking districts of the Madras Presidency known as *Damirike* to classical writers. **Utarāpadha** is Sanskrit *Uttarāpatha* which included our North-Western Frontier Province. **Magadha** is south-western Bihār consisting of the modern districts of Patna, Gayā and the north-western Hazāribāgh, while **Aṅga** consisted of the portions of the districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr which lie to the south of the Ganges, adjoining Magadha. The **Paṁḍa-Rāja** of this inscription refers to the kings of the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula from Madura to Cape Comorin.

We edit the inscription from the rock, the cast in the Patna Museum and from impressions taken by us as well as by the Curator of the Patna Museum.

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII, App. pp. 124-25, Nos. 756, 761. See also note 4 on p. 124.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 469.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 161.

[5] For the antiquities of Rājgīr see Marshall's account in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1905-06, Part ii, pp. 86 ff.

[6] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 151.

TEXT.[1]

1 [Two symbols] Namo Ar[i]hamtānam[.*] Namo sava-Sidhānam[.*] **Aire-a**[3] Ma hārājena **Māhāmeghavāhanena**[4] **Cheti-rāja**-vasa[5]-vadhanena pasatha-subha lakhanena chaturamta-luṭhita-guṇ-opahitena **Kalimg-ādhipatinā**[6] siri-**Khāravelena**

2 pamdarasa-vasāni siri-kaḍāra-sarīra[7]vatā kīḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā[.*] Tato lekha[8]-rūpa[9]-gaṇanā[10]-vavahāra[11]-vidhi[12]-visāradena sava-vijāvadātena nava-vasāni Yovaraja[m][13] pasāsitam[.*] Sampuṇa-chatu-vīsati-vaso tadāni vadhamāna[14]-sesayo **Ven**-ābhivijayo[15] tatiye

3 **Kalimga**[16]-**rāja-va[m]se** purisa-yuge Māhārāj-ābhisechanam[17] pāpunāti[.*] Abhisita-mato cha padhame[18] vase[,*] vāta-vihita-gopura-pākāra-nivesanam paṭisamkhārayati[;*] **Kalimga**[19]-**nagari**-Khibīra-isi-tāla[20]-taḍāga-pāḍiyo[21] cha bamdhāpayati[;*] sav-uyāna-pa[ṭi]samṭhapanam cha

4 kārayati panatīsāhi sata-sahasehi Pakatiyo cha ramjayati[.*] Dutiye cha vase achitayitā **Sātakamnim**[22] pachhima-disam haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulam damḍam paṭhāpayati[;*] **Kaṇha-bemṇā**-[23]-gatāya cha senāya vitāsitam **M[u]sika-nagaram**[24][.*] Tatiye puna vase

5 gamdhava-veda-budho dapa-**nata**-gīta-vādita-samdamsanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kīḍāpayati nagarim [.*] Tathā chavuthe vase **Vijādharādhivāsam** ahata-puvam Kalimga-puva[25]-rāja-[nivesitam] . . . . vitadha-ma[ku]ṭa-sabilama[dh]ite cha nikhita-chhata-

6 bhimgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-**Raṭhika-Bhojake**[26] pāde vamdāpayati[.*] Pamchame cha dānī vase **Namda-rāja**[27]-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitam **Tanasuliya-vāṭā** paṇāḍim Nagaram pavesa[ya]ti [.*] So . . . . bhisito cha Rāja-s[28]-[u]ya[m] samdasayamto sava-kara-vaṇam

7 anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati Poram Jānapadam[.*] Satamam cha vasam pasāsato **Vajiraghara-vati**-ghusita-gharini sa matuka-pada-pumna . . [ku]ma . . . .[.*] Aṭhame cha vase mahatā sen[ā] . . . . . . **Goradhagirim**

8 ghātāpayitā **Rājagaham** upapīḍāpayati[.*] Etin[ā] cha kammapadāna-sa[m]-nādena[29] samb[i]ta-sena-vāhane vipamu[30][m]chitu **Madhuram** apayāto **Yavana-rāj[ā] D[i]mi[ta]**[31] . . . . yachhati . . . . palava . .

9 kapa-rukhe haya-gaja-radha-saha-yamte sava-ghar-āvāsa-parivasane agiṇathiyā[32] sava-gahanam cha kārayitum Bamhaṇānam jātim parihāram dadāti[.*] Arahato [va ?] . . . . [gi]ya[to]

10 . . . k.i. māna[ti]rāja-samnivāsam **Mahāvijayam** pāsādam kārayati aṭhatisāya sata-sahasehi[.*] Dasame cha vase damḍa-samdhī-sā[ma]-mayo **Bharadhavasa**-paṭhānam mah[i]-jayanam . . . . kārāpayati . . . . p[ā]yātānam cha man[i]-ratnāni upalabhate

11 [mamḍam] cha **Ava**[33]-**rāja**-nivesitam **Pīthumḍam**[34] gadabha-namgalena kāsayati janasa dabhāvanam(a) cha terasa vasa-satikam ābhi[m]dati **T[r]amira**[35]-**desha-samghātam**[.*] Bārasame cha vase . . . . hasa ke [saha]-sehi vitāsayati **Utarāpadha**-rājāno . . . . . .

(a) [The reading seems to be *janapada-bhāvanam*.—Ed.]

12 **M[a]gadhānaṁ** cha vipulaṁ bhayaṁ janeto hathī **Sugaṁgīya[ṁ]** pāyayati [;*] M[āga]dha[ṁ][36] cha rājānaṁ **Baha[sa]timitaṁ**[37] pāde vaṁdāpayati[.*] **Naṁda-rāja**-nītaṁ cha **Kā[li]ṁga-Jinaṁ**[38] saṁnive[sa] . . . . [gaha]-rata[nā]na[ṁ] paḍīhārehi[39] **Aṁga-Magadha**[40]-vasuṁ cha neyāti[.*]

13 . . . . katu[ṁ] jaṭhara-l[i]khila barāni siharāni nivesayati satavisikanaṁ[41] [pa]rihārehi[.*] Abhutam=achhariyaṁ cha hathi-nivā[sa]-parisaraṁ[42] . . . . haya-hathī-ratanā-[mānikaṁ] **Paṁḍa**[43]**-rājā** [ch=edāni anekāni] m[u]ta-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sa t[a].

14 . . . . sino vasīkaroti[.*] Terasame cha vase supavata-vijaya-chaka-**Kumārī-pavate** arahayate pa-khiṇa-saṁ[si][44]tehi **kāya-nisīdīyāya** yāpa-ñāvakehi[45] rāja-bhitini china-vatāni vās[ā]-s[i]tāni[46] [;*] pūj-ānurata-uvās[aga-**Khā**]**ravela**[47]-sirinā jīva-deha-[siri]kā parikhitā

15 . . . . sukat[ā]-samaṇa-suvihitānaṁ cha sata-disānaṁ ñan[i]naṁ tapas[i]-is[i]naṁ saṁghayanaṁ[48][.*] **Arahata-nisīdiyā** samīpe pābhāre var-ākāra-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojan-āhitāhi pa si. o. . . . . silāhi **Siṁha-patha-rañī-Si[ṁ]dhuḷāya**[49] nisayāni

16 . . . . Paṭalako chaturo cha veḍūriya-gabhe thaṁbhe patiṭhāpayati[,*] pānatarīya sata-sahase[50][hi][;*] **Muriya-kāla**-vochhinaṁ cha choyaṭh[i] **Aṁga-satika[ṁ] turiyaṁ** upādayati[.*] Khema-rājā sa Vaḍha-rājā sa Bhikhu-rājā Dhama-rājā pasaṁt[o] sunat[o] anubhavat[o] **kalā-ṇāni**

17 . . . . guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsaṁḍa-pūjako sava-de[v-āya]tana-saṁkhāra-kārako [a]patihata-chaki-vāhini-balo chaka-dhura-guta-chako pavata-**chako rājasi-Vasū-kula**[51]**-viniśrito**[52] mahā-vijayo **Rājā-Khāravela-siri**[.*] [Symbol].

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1. For facsimile plates see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vols. III, IV and XIII.

2. [The reading *Arı°* was corrected from *Arā°* after Mr. Banerji's death, with the help of Muni Jinavijaya.—K. P. J.]

3. *Airena* is the equivalent of *Aiḷena*, meaning a descendant of Iḷa or Iḷā, father or mother of Purūravas. The same title is also to be found in the Mañchapurī Cave inscription of Kūḍepasirī.[1] For the change of *l* into *r* see *T[r]amira* in line 11 below. [In connection with this title the description in the last line *rājasi-Vasū-kula-viniśrito* may be noted. The Purāṇic tradition of *Rājarshi* as well as of the Aiḷa dynasty was thus well-established before Khāravela's time.—K. P. J.]

4. *Māhāmeghavāhana.*—Probably the reading in the Mañchapurī inscription is also *Māhāmeghavāhana* and not *Mahāmeghavāhana*. The long vowel over the first syllable *Mā°* is quite clear in this inscription. The increase in the strength of the vowel indicates that King Khāravela was a descendant of Mahāmēghavāhana, who might have been the recent founder of the dynasty.

5. *Cheti-rāja-vasa-.*—Evidently *Cheti* is the same as Chēdi.[2] The later Chēdis, Kaḷachuris or Haihayas of Ḍābhāla or Ḍāhala were in occupation of modern Baghelkhaṇḍ and Chhattīsgaḍh in the mediæval period. Before that in the 7th century the Kaḷachuris Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja were in possession of Mālwā and the Northern Mahārāshṭra until their conquest by the early Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi. The Buddhist books mention *Chēti* as one of the sixteen great kingdoms or nations of Northern India.[3] In the dynastic lists given in the *Purāṇas*, the Haihayas

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 160.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 172.

[3] *Cf.* Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 38.

are a branch of the Yādavas.[1] The origin of the Chēdis is thus stated by Pargiter: Vidarbha of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha, Kaiśika and Lōmapāda. Kaiśika's son Chidi founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chēdi.[2] From Chidi the name of the clan as well as that of the country became Chēdi. In the Buddhist books Chēti is placed between Malla and Vaṁsa indicating that the kingdom lay close to Kauśāmbī in the Allahābād district, and it is very likely that modern Baghelkhaṇḍ was originally called Chēdi. [Vasu, from whose line Khāravela's family descended (l. 17) was, however, not a Chaidya but the conqueror of the Chēdi country. He was fifth in descent from Kuru who was the 72nd Aiḷa (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 22, 26-29). The Jaina *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* also includes Vasu in the Aiḷēya list and as the son of the founder of *Chēdi-rāshṭra* in the Vindhyas (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 277).—K. P. J.]

6. *Kaliṁg-ādhipatinā.*—The term Kaliṅga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency. In the *Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with Aṅga (south-eastern Bihār), Vaṅga (eastern Bengal), Puṇḍra (northern Bengal) and Suhma (south-western Bengal). The names of these five countries were given according to the names of the five sons of Bali,[3] *i.e.*, the tradition treats the kingdoms to be early Aryan conquests and states. In the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with the Mahisha country[4] (later Māhishmatī, modern Mahesor in the Indore State on the river Narmadā). This text would indicate that Utkala was included in Kaliṅga in the time of Khāravela and the later name Ōḍra had not come into existence. The Purāṇic texts further indicate that the term Utkala was applied in early times to the hilly country between Gayā and Orissa, *i.e.*, modern Chhoṭā Nāgpur and the Garhjat States. "The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa."[5] The transfer of the term Utkala to the plain country along the sea-board is therefore later.

7. *Siri-kaḍāra-sarīra-vatā.*—*Kaḍāra* means reddish fair, according to *Amara*, and a slave according to the *Mēdinī*. If it is a Prakrit derivation from *kaṭāra*, then it means "*nāgaraḥ* or *kāmin*," according to the *Śabdamālā* (*Vāchaspatyam*). The explanation given in the *Amara-kōsha* is more suitable as meaning "of beautiful reddish body."

8. *Lekha* or Royal Correspondence, a manual of which was written in the time of the Chāḷukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa and has been published from Baroda.[6] This *lēkha* cannot refer to the art of writing. The subject is dealt with in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya.[7]

9. *Rūpa* must be the equivalent of *rūpya* meaning currency. In the present inscription the position of the word *rūpa* shows that the meaning cannot be anything else.[8] The exact meaning of the term is made clear by the explanation of Buddhaghōsha on a passage of the *Mahāvagga*. The term is explained thus: "he who learns the *rūpa-sūtra* must turn over and over many Kārshāpaṇas."[9] Finally, the term *rūpa-darśaka* in the *Arthaśāstra* translated as "Examiner of Coins" shows that the term *rūpa* was used in cases as in the present inscription with

[1] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[4] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54.

[5] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

[6] *Lēkha-paddhati*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 58.

[7] Mysore edn. (1919), pp. 70-75.

[8] It is impossible to imagine that the prince learned acting. We can compare the word *lupadakhe* in the Jōgīmārā cave inscription where also it may mean a currency officer. The term is also taken to mean a City-Magistrate who could recognise offenders at a glance. *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1903-04, pp. 128-30. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 131.

[9] *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, p. 201 note.

reference to currency. The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also, as we find the term *tāmra-rūpa* in the *Arthaśāstra*.[1]

10. *Gaṇanā*.—This term occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* and has been translated as Accountancy. An entire chapter has been devoted to it there and the subject is explained in detail. It is certain that this term could not have been used for elementary mathematics in this inscription as supposed by Bühler. Knowledge of *lēkha, rūpa,* and *gaṇanā* is here coupled with that of law and learning and refers to a post-boyhood period.

11. *Vavahāra*.—*Vyavahāra* meaning Civil Law or Municipal Law as opposed to—

12. *Vidhi* or Religious Law which is mentioned in Sanskrit legal literature as positive injunctions.

13. *Yovarajaṁ=Yauvarājyaṁ*.—Yōvarajaṁ shows the shortening of the internal medial vowel in the second member and the graphic lightening of double consonant, as in the case of *Māhārāja°* (l. 3), *rañī* (l. 15), *etc.*

14. *vadhamāna-sesayo*.—Though the incision of these two words is perfectly clear they cannot be satisfactorily explained by us. The equation *vardhamāna-śaiśavō* is not quite satisfactory as a change of *v* into *y* is not to be had anywhere else in this record. The meaning proposed in the translation is adopted for want of a better one. There may be a pun intended by the use of the word *vadhamāna* which is the early name of the last Tīrthaṅkara. The verb *pāpuṇāti=prāpnōti* shows that the sentence is in the active voice and complete by itself. After this line the forms are generally causative.

15. *Ven-ābhivijayo*.—The reading is perfectly clear. The ancient monarch Vēna, father of Pṛithu, was an unorthodox king according to Brāhmanical literature. According to the *Padma-Purāṇa* he began his reign well but subsequently became a Jaina. He abolished the law of levirate (*niyōga*) and caused a confusion or abolition of castes, according to Manu.[2] Vēna was a great conqueror and therefore the term *abhivijaya* is very appropriate in his case. Evidently the tradition recorded in the *Padma-Purāṇa* was well-established in the time of Khāravela and therefore the Jaina monarch is compared to Vēna.

16. *Kaliṁga-rāja-va[ṁ]se*.—In the third line the details about Khāravela's ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of Chēti and was the overlord of Kaliṅga, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga. This dynasty was one of the *Aiḷa* dynasties settled in Central and Southern India. The name Khāravela (probably, 'one whose waves are brackish'=the Ocean) is unusual, and so is the name of the other king of the dynasty, *viz.*, Kūḍepa (Mañchapurī inscription). Khāravela is described to be an *Aiḷa* or *Aiḍa*, that is, of the Lunar House as opposed to the Solar. Pargiter holds that the kings of the Aiḷa stock held the Ganges and the Jumna valleys from the Siwālik Hills to Magadha, the country between the Rājputāna desert and the Berār, with the Pañjāb and Peshāwar in the north and East Bihār and Bengal proper in the east. The town and country of Vidarbha is generally recognised to be the modern Berār.

17. *Māhārāj-ābhisechanaṁ*.—The regular *abhishēka* of a *Chakravartin* Monarch (called the *Aindra-mahābhishēka* in the *Śatapatha* and *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas*).[3]

18. *Padhame*.—In this dialect *tha* becomes *dha* in the majority of cases, *e.g., Goradha=Goratha, radha=ratha, Bharadhavasa=Bharathavasa* and *Madhuraṁ* for *Mathuraṁ*. The change is well-known and probably it is an influence of Dravidian origin.[4]

[1] Text p. 84, Engl. trans., p. 95. (Dr. Shamasastry's edition.)

[2] *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, Ch. IX, vv. 66-67.

[3] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. ii, p. 27.

[4] [This peculiarity is found in Jaina-Saurasēnī, Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī and Ḍhakkī. See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen*, para. 203.—Ed.]

19. *Kaliṁga-nagari.*—The capital of the Kaliṅga country, very likely now represented by Kaliṅgapatanam in the Ganjām district. The ancient capital of Kaliṅga, according to the tradition prevalent in the Chicacole *taluk* of the Ganjām district, was swallowed up by the sea. Fragments of bas-reliefs of the Maurya period with the well-known protuberance on the head-dress have been, however, discovered by RDB. in the temples of Mukhaliṅgēśvara and Kūrmēśvara in the locality. The coast from Chhatrapuram to Masulipatam is subject to great cyclones during the north-eastern monsoon and the majority of ancient sites on this coast are buried in drift sand.

20. *Khibīra-isi-tāla.*—We have examined these two words very carefully on the rock, estampages and casts. The reading is perfectly clear but no explanation seems to be possible unless Khibīra is taken to be a proper name of a Rishi who excavated the tank or lake or after whom it was named. In that case, the phrase will have to be taken as referring to a particular tank while *taḷāja* and *pāḍiyo* will refer to artifical excavations.

21. *Pāḍiyo*=Skt. *Pālīḥ.*—Perhaps the same as the *Poḍhiya* of Western India, *cf.* *Pāṇḍulēṇa* cave No. 10, inscription No. 10, l. 3.[1]

22. *Sātakaṁnim.*—Evidently Śrī Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nāvanikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions in the Junnar *taluk* of the Poona district.[2] [As to the Śātakarṇi whose architect Vāsēthiputra Ānanda gave a *tōraṇa* to *stūpa* No. I at Sāñchi see *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, p. 254.—K. P. J.]

23. *Kaṇha-beṁṇā*—the Sanskrit Kṛishṇavēṇī or the modern Kṛishṇā which rises near Dhom in the Sātārā district. The river flows through the Sātārā, Belgaum and Bijāpur districts and the Kolhāpur and Hyderābād States into the Bay of Bengal through the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras Presidency. It forms the boundary of the Nizam's State from Alampur near Karnūl to Nandigāma in the Kistna district. The rise of the Kṛishṇā and its particular sanctity are described in the *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa.*[3] The earliest epigraphical reference is to be found in this inscription and the second in the Nāsik inscription in cave No. 10 of the Pāṇḍulēṇā group where it is called *Karabeṇā.*[4] In mediæval inscriptions it is called *Kṛishṇa-Vērṇṇā.*[5] There is no doubt about the fact that Khāravela reached the Kṛishṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term *pachhima-disaṁ* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛishṇā.

24. *Musika-nagara.*—The Mūshikas are a people of Southern India as in the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas.[6] In the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata they are probably coupled with the *Tōśalas* and the *Kōśalas* under the name *Mōśalas.*[7] In the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* the Mūsika country comes with the *Strī-rājya.* According to the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhya country.[8] There is a river Mūsī which joins the Kṛishṇā about the Nalgonda and the Kṛishṇā districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa

[1] *Ante,* Vol. VIII, p. 78.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, plate 3. As to the letter-form of this inscription reference may be made to the *Palæography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions, Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 131 ff. RDB. has proved elsewhere that later and earlier forms of the character used in an inscription depend in the first place on locality.

[3] Ānandāśrama edition (1894), pt. 4, VI, 113, p. 1467.

[4] *Ante,* Vol. VIII, p. 78.

[5] *Ante,* Vol. VI, p. 211.

[6] *Bhīshma-parvan,* Ch. IX.

[7] XIII, 27. (Kāvyamālā edition, p. 148.)

[8] *Sub. Kāma-sūtra,* II, 5, 27.

Gōvinda II of the Śaka year 692=769 A.D.[1] It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river.[2]

25. *Kaliṁga-puva-rāja.*—The reading is absolutely certain and the phrase should be read with reference to *tatiye Kaliṁga-rāja-vaṁse.*

26. *Rathika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahārathis and Mahābhojas of Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kānhēri, Kuḍā and Bēḍsā. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *Risṭikas* in the Girnār, *Raṭhikas* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and *Raṭhakas* in the Mānsēhrā version of the 5th edict of Aśōka. The Dhauli version supplies the analogous form in *Laṭhika.* In the 13th edict we find the *Bhojakas* mentioned with the *Pitinakas* in Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Mānsēhrā and Kālsī versions. In the Kānhēri cave inscription of the time of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda a Mahābhoja is also called a *Mahārāja* showing that Bhoja probably was a title. Mahābhojas or Mahābhojis are mentioned in five votive inscriptions in the Kuḍā cave. In later periods a Bhojaka is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman.[3]

27. *Naṁda-rāja.*—King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l. 6 and again in l. 12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by King Nanda.[4] His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty.

28. *Rājasūyaṁ.*—The reading is perfectly clear on the rock.

29. *saṁnādena.*—The form of the first letter seems to be a *sa* of the same type as that which we find in *Bahasatimitaṁ* in l. 12.

30. *vipamuchitu.*—It seems more probable that the reading is *vipamu[ṁ?]chitu* not *vipamuchituṁ.*

31. *Yavana-rāja-Dimita.*—The word *Yavana-rāja* was read by KPJ. for the first time in 1919. After that the second syllable of the proper name is distinct. The first and the third can be read with great difficulty. KPJ. proposed to read the first syllable as *Ḍi* but RDB. proposed that it is *Di* in which the broad back of the letter is turned towards the right and not the left. In Aśōka's inscriptions both varieties are found but in this inscription the other variety, with the broad back to the proper left, is used in all other cases. The Greek King Demetrios calls himself Dime[tra] in his Kharōshṭhī coin legends.[5]

32. *agiṇathiyā.*—The reading is certain and legible on the rock only. The decay of the stone makes good impressions impossible. Both of us have examined the place carefully and repeatedly. The meaning of the term is also uncertain. It may mean some form of Vēdic sacrifice and the original form in Sanskrit might have been *Agn-ishṭi.* What had been read as *sa* before this word is uncertain.

33. *Ava-rāja* was previously read as *pūva-rāja.* It appears that that particular form of *a* in which the left lower curve is much shorter than the upper is also used in this inscription. Therefore the shorter arm of the long *u* may be taken to be the lower left curve of *a*. *Ava* as a dynasty is given by the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa,* and the *Vishṇu* equates it with the Āndhras. Ptolemy

[1] *Ante,* Vol. VI, pp. 208-13.

[2] I am of opinion that Khāravela reached the Mahārāshtra country and touched the river Krishṇā near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because to reach the Krishṇā at any other place he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west. Moreover, I put more reliance on the *Mahābhārata* than on any of the later texts. As the Mūsikas are coupled with the Vanavāsikas it is more probable that they lived on the western coast below Banavāsi (Sirsi *taluk* of the North Kanara district of Bombay). In my opinion Muziris, a famous port on the western coast, should be identified with Musikanagara of this inscription. (R. D. B.) [See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 165 ff., and *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 138.—Ed.]

[3] See also *Hindu Polity,* Pt. i, pp. 143, 195.

[4] See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 237.

[5] *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

mentions a people called *Avarni* or *Aruarni* near the Krishṇā. It is quite possible that the city of Pīthuṁḍa mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 145), was founded by these people (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 15 f.).

34. *Pīthuṁḍa.*—According to Ptolemy, a city in the upper part of the Coromandal coast. This city has perhaps to be taken as the capital of the Ava or Avarni.

35. *Tramira* or *Tamira* is the equivalent of *Tamiḷa* just as *Aira* represents *Aiḷa*. It has been pointed out that *Tamil* is the origin of *Draviḍa* and of *Dramila*.[1] *Tramila* would thus be a perfectly correct substitute for *Dramila*.

36. *Māgadhaṁ.*—We have examined the rock very carefully. The cast of the inscription in the Patna Museum shows that the word cannot be *Muriya* as proposed by Dr. F. W. Thomas.[2] The chisel-cuts of the letters are still clear though the decay of the rock surface has made impressions of this part of the inscription smudged.

37. *Bahasatimitaṁ.*—The *sa* in the word is of the later 2nd century B.C. type in which a clear right-angle has been formed in the right limb of the letter and therefore it looks more like *pa* than *sa*. The reading is absolutely certain.

38. *Kāliṁga-Jina* perhaps means Śītalanātha who was born at Bhadalapura, which is the same as Bhadrapura[3] or Bhadrāchalam in the Gōdāvari district of the Madras Presidency.

39. *paḍīhārehi* stands for *pratīhāraiḥ*.—The *ḍa* denotes its difference from *parīhāra* in l. 9.

40. *Aṁga-Magadha.*—The mention of these two provinces indicates that the campaign of the 12th year was specially directed against South Bihār which now includes the ancient provinces of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur and Monghyr districts) and Magadha (Patna, Gayā and part of Hazāribāgh districts).

41. *sata-visikanaṁ.*—The reading is not doubtful though it was read slightly differently before. The reference seems to be to architects (*vaiśmikas*).

42. *hathi-nivāsa-parisaraṁ.*—This reading of the second word of the phrase is more reliable than the previous one (*hathi-nāvana-paripuraṁ*). *nivāsa*=*nivāsa*.[4] The reference seems to be to elephant preserves or some original form of *khedā* arrangement, invented by Khāravela. The elephants of Kaliṅga were very famous in ancient India. The strength of Khāravela probably lay in elephants. He took the fort of Pāṭaliputra with the help of elephants.

43. *Paṁḍa-rājā.*—For the form *cf.* *rāñī* in l. 15. The Sanskritized version of the name of the great Dravidian clan is Pāṇḍya and is derived from Pāṇḍu by a special rule of early grammarians. In the inscriptions of Aśōka also the vowel in the first syllable is long.

44. *Pa-khiṇa-saṁsitehi.*—The reading seems to be tolerably certain on the rock, though it looks doubtful in the impressions. *Pa-khiṇa*=*prakshīṇa*, *saṁsit°*=*saṁsrit°*.

45. *Yāpa-ñavakehi.*—The first part of the compound cannot be satisfactorily explained by us though the reading is absolutely certain.[5]

46. *vāsā-sitāni.*—The medial vowels except that on the first syllable are somewhat uncertain. It may also be taken to be *-satāni*. It was previously read as *vasāsitāni*.

47. *Uvāsagā-Khāravela* previously read as *Uvāsa-Khāravela*. The *gā* and *khā* are indistinct.

48. *saṁghayanaṁ.*—The reading is certain except of the vowel value on *gh*. Certain improvements have been effected, *e.g.*, *ñaninaṁ* which makes the purport of this term fairly certain.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 64.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 84.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

[4] *Cf. Kāmandakīya-nītisāra*, XV, 7.

[5] [See Muni Puṇyavijaya, '*Anekānta*' (Delhi), Vol. I, p. 142, where he cites Jaina texts on '*yāpa*' ('religious life') —K. P. J.]

49. *Siṁdhuḷāya.*—The recognition of the cerebral *ḷa* is due to a suggestion of Prof. H. Lüders. In other cases the cerebral *ḷa* is changed into *ra* in the dialect used in this inscription.

50 *sata-sahasehi.*—This reading was fully established by us when we examined the rock jointly in November 1919. This reading along with the reading of the passage *Aṁga°*, *etc.* brings to a close the long controversy about the existence of a date in the Maurya era in this inscription.

51. [The reading **Rājasi-Vasū**-*kula°* has been corrected by me (from -*vasa-kula*) after Mr. Banerji's death. King **Vasu** of Chēdi is known to the *Purāṇas* (see *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 22; *MBh.*, I. ch. 63). *Cheti-rā a°* in l. 1 refers to King Vasu. The inscription here confirms the Purāṇic genealogy. The Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* also gives Vasu in the Chēdi list (Ch. VII) and as an Aiḷēya. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 277.—K. P. J.]

52. *vinisrito.*—This is the only instance of the use of the palatal *śa* in this record. The form is certain both on the rock and impressions.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (*Arihats*=lit. 'Conquerors of Enemies,' *i.e.*, Jinas). Salutation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious **Khāravela**, the **Aira** (*Aiḷa*), the Great King, the descendant of **Mahāmeghavāhana**, the increaser (*of the glory*) of the **Cheti** (Chēdi) **dynasty**, (*endowed*) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (*the ends of*) the four quarters, overlord[1] of **Kaliṅga**,

(L. 2) for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsome sports; after that (*by him who*) had mastered (*royal*) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (*and*) who had become well-versed in all (*branches*) of learning, for nine years (*the office of*) *Yuvarāja*[2] (heir apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year,[3] at that time, (*he*) who had been prosperous (*vardhamāna*) since his infancy (?) and who (*was destined*) to have wide conquests as those of **Vena**,

(L. 3) then in the state of manhood,[4] obtains the imperial (*mahārājya*) coronation in the dynasty of Kaliṅga. As soon as he is anointed, in the first (*regnal*) year (*he*) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (*of the city*), (*which had been*) damaged by storm; in the city of Kaliṅga (*he*) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (*called after*) Khibīra Ṛishi, (*and*) of (*other*) tanks and cisterns, (*also*) the restoration of all the gardens (*he*) causes to be

(L. 4) done at (*the cost of*) thirty-five-hundred-thousands,[5] and (*he*) gratifies the People. And in the second year (*he*), disregarding **Sātakaṁni**, despatches to the western regions an

[1] In *Kaliṁg-ādhipoti*, *adhipati* like *adhirāja* of the inscriptions, would literally denote an 'overlord.' The chief queen of Khāravela in the Mañchapurī record calls her husband a Kaliṅga emperor (*Kaliṁga-chakavati*) In our record he is expressly described as belonging to the Kaliṅga dynasty. The expression 'overlord' would not indicate that he was the overlord of Kalinga, but an overlord or an emperor belonging to Kaliṅga.

[2] A member of the ministry (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 124, 136). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Samprati, a grandson of Aśōka, was the *yuvarāja*, while his father Kuṇāla was a viceroy at Takshaśilā. *Yuvarāja* was generally, but not necessarily, the Crown Prince.

[3] Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛihaspati-sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 25th year and after that age, politics.

[4] *Purisa-yuge.*—This has a reference to the 25th year, see the note above.

[5] The meaning given above is in consonance with the use of similar figures in lines 10 and 16 (*Mahāvijayaṁ pāsādaṁ kārayati athatisāya sata-sahasehi*, and *pānatariya*, *etc.*). The instrumental case before *pakatiyo* may equally be taken to denote the number of the subjects (see *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita on Pāṇini, II, 3, 23, and II, 3, 46). RDB. would connect the figure with the sentence beginning with *pakatiyo* in the sense that by the expenditure indicated by the figure the king pleased his subjects (see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 365).

army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the **Kaṅha-beṁṇā**, he throws the city of the **Musikas** into consternation. Again in the third year,

(L. 5) (*he*) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (*i.e.*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*,[1] dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*) ;[2] similarly in the fourth year, 'the **Abode of Vidyādharas**' built by the former Kaliṅgan king(*s*), which had not been damaged before ....with their coronets[3] rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*bilma*)[4] cut in twain (?), and with their umbrellas and

(L. 6) *bhiṅgāras* cast away,[5] deprived of their jewels (*i.e.*, *ratana*, Skt. *ratna*, precious objects) all the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** (*he*) causes to bow down at his feet. Now in the fifth year he brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya[6] the canal excavated in the year one hundred-and-three of King **Nanda**[7] .... Having been (*re-*) anointed (*he while*) celebrating the Rājasūya, remits all tithes and cesses,

(L. 7) bestows many privileges[8] (*amounting to*) hundreds of thousands on the City-Corporation[9] and the Realm-Corporation.[10] In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of **Vajiraghara**[11] obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood........... Then in the eighth year, (*he*) with a large army having sacked **Goradhagiri**

(L. 8) causes pressure[12] on **Rājagaha** (Rājagṛiha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the **Yavana** (Greek) **King Dimi[ta]** retreated to **Mathurā** having extricated his demoralised army and transport........... (*He*) gives ....*with* foliage

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[1] In Sindh this term is found in modern vernacular applied to a village-performance by a row of men who move on cutting antics. *Drava* in Sanskrit, meaning a dance, is connected with motion or running.

[2] On its meaning as a theatrical performance, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 235.

[3] (*Makuṭa.*)—Crowns or coronets according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 118). The *Raṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* were non-monarchical communities (*Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, p. 89).

[4] *Bilma* in the *Yajur-vēda*, XVI, 35, comes in the company of *kavacha* (coat-of-mail or breast-plate).

[5] *Bhriṅgāra* which was made of gold, formed part of a ruler's paraphernalia according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 138). So did the *chhatra* or umbrella.

[6] *Tanasuliya-vāṭā* means 'from the road of Tanasuli' or it might have been the name of the canal. *Vāṭi* also means an enclosure.

[7] The opinion of Luders (List No. 1345) and Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26) is in favour of interpreting *tivasa-sata* as 103 years and not 300 years. This is acceptable in preference to 300 on considerations of chronological and historical data of the inscription discussed elsewhere (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237-238). Such uses of numbers are not unknown in Vēdic Sanskrit. The natural explanation is 'the year one hundred and three of King Nanda'. On a Nanda era, see Yeḍarāve inscription of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 43) and on an era beginning in 458 B. C. current in the time of Alberuni, the discussion on the subject in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. XIII, pp. 237-241).

[8] *Anugaha.*—Consult *Hindu Polity*, II, 93 ; *Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra*, 19, XIII, 171.

[9] *Pora* = *Paura.*—See the discussion on the subject in *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, and the next note below.

[10] *Jānapada.*—The discussion in the *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, sets out the materials. The question of identification of *Jānapada* as a corporate body is now put beyond controversy by the seal discovered at Nālandā which reads *Purikā-grāma-jānapadasya* 'of the Jānapada of the Purikā village'. This seal is in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century. [I am publishing it in my article on 'Some Clay Seals of Nalanda'-Ed.] Probably the central *Jānapada* was made up of the representatives of local *Jānapadas*. In the Hāthigumphā inscription we have *Jānapada* in the singular, that is, it refers to one (general) *Jānapada*.

[11] It is an ancient royal mannerism to refer to different queens by the name of the country of their origin *cf.*, Kausalyā, Kaikēyī, *etc.* The custom still continues in the present ruling families where *rāṇīs* are so referred to. For instance, a princess of the Udaipur family, if married in the Jodhpur family, would be styled *Sisodni mahal.*

[12] *Upapīḍāpayati* means presses down, inflicts pain (*Manu*, VI, 62 ; XII, 80). With the meaning 'devastating, laying waste', which the dictionaries give, the word may mean 'he sacks', but as it is contrasted with *ghātāpayitā* ('sacked') we take it that Khāravela only laid siege to the fortress of Rājagṛiha.

(L. 9) Kalpa[1] (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable (*he*) gives at a fire sacrifice (?) exemption (*from taxes*) to the caste of Brāhmaṇas. Of Arhat..................................

(L. 10) .... (*He*) causes to be built .... a royal residence (*called*) the **Palace of Great Victory** (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousands. And in the tenth year (*he*), following (*the three-fold policy*) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against **Bharatavasa** (*and*) brings about the conquest of the land (*or*, country) .... and obtains jewels and precious things of the (*kings*) attacked.

(L. 11) .... And the market-town (?) **Pīthuṁḍa**[2] founded by the **Ava King** he ploughs down with a plough of asses ; [3] and (*he*) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy[4] of the **T[r]amira** (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thriteen years,[5] which has been a source of danger[6] to (*his*) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the **Utarāpatha**[7] with..................thousands of

(L. 12) .... And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (*he*) drives (*his*) elephants into the **Sugaṁgīya**[8] (*Palace*), and (*he*) makes the King of Magadha, **Bahasatimita,** bow at his feet. And (*he*) sets up[9] (*the image*) 'the **Jina of Kaliṁga**' which had been taken away by **King Nanda**..................and causes to be brought home the riches of **Aṁga** and **Magadha** along with the keepers of the family jewels of....................

(L. 13) .... (*He*) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And a wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade[10] for driving in the elephants (*he*) ...... and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (*he*) causes to be brought here from the **Pāṇḍya King.**

(L. 14) .... (*he*) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the **Kumārī Hill** where the Wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved[11] (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been

[1] Giving of Kalpa trees was one of the *Mahādānas* or great gifts according to Hēmādri (*Chaturvarga-chintāmani, dāna-khanda*). The tree was made of solid gold.

[2] *Prithu-anda* 'the big egg', probably had its origin in the physical feature of the situation of the city.

[3] In the Jaina book *Āvaśyakavritti*, Hāribhadrī, (pp. 685-87) and Hēmachandra's *Vīracharitra* (pp. 170-71) it is stated that Koṇika ploughed Vaiśālī with ploughs drawn by asses. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231*n*.)

[4] *saṁghāta.*—According to Pāṇini (III, 3, 76, 86 ; V. 1, 59 ; and *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 27) the form should be here *saṅgha* and not *sanghāta*. Evidently this distinction of Sanskrit grammar is not followed by Jaina writers of the time and the regular form *saṅghāta* is used probably owing to the religious significance already attaching to the term *saṅgha* amongst them.

[5] *Terasa-vasa-satikaṁ.*—We take it to mean 113 years, not 1,300 years old in conformity with the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* above.

[6] [*Bhāvana*=Skt. *bhāpana* (*cf.* '*bhāpayate*' in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* on Pāṇ°. 1, 3, 68). I am adopting the former reading *janapada*- The other reading will also yield nearly the same meaning.—K. P. J.]

[7] As the record distinguishes *Utarāpadha* from *Bharadhavasa* it should be taken to refer to that part of the country of which Takshaśilā was the capital as in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 407). *Cf.*, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[8] *Sugāṅga* Palace is mentioned in the *Mudrārākshasa* (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the Ganges. Khāravela's entry by means of elephants implies that it was a fortified palace.

[9] *saṁnivesa..*, probably *saṁnivēśayati*, "sets up an image". *Saṁnivēśa* in the sense of an image is mentioned in the dictionaries. The image called the Kālinga Jina was set up by Khāravela. This image had been taken away by King Nanda. There is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of *Naṁda-rāja-nītam*.

[10] *nivāsa-parisaraṁ* = *nirvāsa-parisaram*. Compare the *Kāmandakīya* on *nirvāsa* of elephants (XV, 7). *parisara* is enclosure or stockade.

[11] *supavata-vijaya-chaka* : Skt. *supravritta-vijaya-chakra*, *cf.*, *pavata-chako* in l. 17 ; *vijaya-chaka*, 'the wheel of conquest'. Evidently this was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism. That Varddhamāna Mahāvīra preached Jainism in Kaliṅga is attested by the tradition contained in Jaina literature (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 223). The *Hāribhadrīya-vritti* says that Mahāvīra went to Kaliṅga where his father's friend was ruling.

preached), (*he*) offers respectfully[1] royal maintenances, China clothes[2] (*silks*) and white clothes [3] to (*the monks*) who (*by their austerities*) have extinguished the round of lives,[4] the preachers[5] on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial.[6] By Khāravela, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (*the nature of*) *jīva* and *dēha*[7]

(L. 15) .... bringing about a Council[8] of the wise ascetics and sages, from hundred (*i.e.*, all) quarters, the monks (*samaṇas*) of good deeds and who have fully followed (*the injunctions*) .... near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the hill,[9]............ with stones............. brought from many miles (*yojanas*) quarried from excellent mines (*he builds*) shelters[10] for the **Siṁhapatha Queen Sindhuḷa.** ....

(L. 16) .... Paṭalaka(?) ......(*he*) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl.. ......at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands; (*he*) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (*text*) of the seven-fold *Aṁgas*[11] of the sixty-four[12] (*letters*). He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikshus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessings (*kalyāṇas*)—

(L. 17) .... accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respector of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (*himself*), descended from the family of the Royal Sage **Vasū, the Great conqueror,** the King, the illustrious **Khāravela.**

No. 8.—KAP COPPER-PLATE OF KELADI SADASIVA-NAYAKA; SAKA 1479.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A.

This copper-plate was secured by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, from **Kāp** a village in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency in 1921 and has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as No. 8 of Appendix A.

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[1] *arahayate* = *arghayate.*

[2] *China-vatāni* = *chīrna-vastrāni* or *Chīna-vastrāṇi.* The latter gives a more reasonable meaning.

[3] *vāsā-sitāni.*—This was formerly read as *vasā-sitāni.* It would be the earliest reference to the *white* clothes later on connected with the Śvētāmbara sect.

[4] *samsita* = Skt. *samsriti.*

[5] *Ñāvaka* = Skt. *Jñāpaka.*—*Yāpa* in *yāpa-ñāvakehi* may be interpreted in view of its use in *Charaka* as "mitigating pain", or as "supporting life" according to the *Mahābhārata.* [The translation given above is adopted now from the Jaina texts. See *above* p. 85, *n.* 5—K. P. J.]

[6] The Jainas raised symbolical graves of saints and *Nishīdī* or *Nishīdhī* was the name given to them. (*Cf. ante*, Vol. II, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 99).

[7] Soul and body: these relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Ch. VII).

[8] *Saṁghayana* = assemblage.

[9] *pābhāre* = *prāg-bharē.*

[10] *nisayāni* = Skt. *niśrayāṇi.*

[11] *Aṁga* is a technical term meaning the sacred canon of the Jainas. If we read *Aṁga-satika-turiyaṁ* instead of *Aṁgasatikaṁ turiyaṁ* then we may translate it as "the *Aṅgas* (in collections of) 7 and 4". According to the Jaina tradition the *Aṅgas*, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss.

[12] *turiyaṁ* = *tvaritaṁ,* "expeditiously", or *turiyaṁ,* "four-fold". Jaina authors maintain that the Jaina Canon is covered by 64 letters; see *Gōmmaṭasāra, Jīva-khaṇḍa* (Sacred Books of the James, Vol. V, 1927 edition by J. L. Jaini, Introduction, p. 13).

"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16·4" long and 11·5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1·4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1·75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Kannaḍa. The first six verses are in Sanskrit and the next six in Kannaḍa, the rest being in Kannaḍa prose. The Kannaḍa verses are defective both in diction and in prosody. The record is written in Kannaḍa **alphabet** and is rather indifferently inscribed. The letter *va* is often written like *ra* and it is not easy to distinguish *pa* from *ru* (as in *Tirumarasa* in line 17). The aspirates are generally distinguished by means of the vertical stroke at the bottom except in the case of *dha*. The secondary form of *va* is sometimes used (*vuḷḷa* in l. 36 and *vūroḷage* in l. 37). With respect to **orthography**: (*i*) the consonants are invariably doubled when they are preceded by *rēpha*; (*ii*) the nasal is generally changed into an *anusvāra* before consonants of the same class; (*iii*) the consonants are freely used in place of vowels (*e.g.*, *ye* for *e* in l. 21 and *vo* for *o* in l. 14); (*iv*) the letter *sa* is sometimes wrongly used for *sha* (ll. 8 and 42); and (*v*) double *na* is used for *ṇa* as in *arnnava* (l. 9).

The **object** of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by **Madda-Heggaḍe**, the chief of **Kāp** with (*the consent*) of the assembly (*nāḷinavaru*)[1], communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa-paṇa*) and subordinate officers,[2] for offerings to **Dharmmanātha**, the 15th Jina Tīrthaṁkara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher **Dēvachandradēva** for the spiritual welfare of his *guru* Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinava ēvakīrttidēva.

The **date** of the record is Śālivāhana-Śaka 1479, the cyclic year Naḷa, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the details correspond regularly to A.D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmmanātha which is followed by a verse in praise of the *Jina-doctrine* (*śāsana*). It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra), the 24th Jina. Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhānu who belonged to **Tintriṇī-gachchha, Kāṇūr-gaṇa** and **Mūla-saṁgha.** The Kannaḍa verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggaḍe but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the **Paṅguḷa** line (*baḷi*) and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp. (Vv. 7-12.) The inscription then states that **Rāmarājayya,** though he was the lieutenant of king **Sadāśivarāya,** was ruling the (*Vijayanagara*) empire (ll. 18-21) and that **Sadāśiva-Nāyaka** (*of Ikkēri*) was the ruler of the districts of **Bārakūru** and **Maṅgalūru.** Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Heggaḍe in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with (*the help of*) the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were

[1] *nāḷinavaru* is the corrupt form of *nāḍinavaru* which comes from *nāḍu* meaning assembly.

[2] *gaṇa* 'is an aggregate of *kulas*' *kulānāṁ hi samūhas=tu gaṇaḥ saṁprakīrtitaḥ* (Kātyāyana, Vīramitrōdaya, p. 426; quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his "*Economic condition of Ancient India*", p. 54); and *paṇa* is a sectarian division. Eighteen *paṇas* are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century, *viz.*, *Vyāvahārikas*, *pāñchālas* (five sects of smiths), *kumbhālikas* (potters), *tantuvāyins* (weavers), *vastra-bhēdakas* (cloth dyers ?), *tila-ghātakas* (oil-millers), *kuraṇṭakas* (*kuraṭakas* ? : shoe-makers), *vastra-rakshakas* (tailors), *dēvāṅgas*, *parikeliti* (*parikelettēviru* ? : keepers of pack-bullocks), *gō-rakshakas* (cow-herds), *kirātas* (hunters), *rajakas* (washermen) and *kshaurakas* (barbers). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. (*Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1918, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)

situated in the village of **Mallāru** and yielded an income of 80 *varāhas*.[1] This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the *hālu-dhāre* (milk-bath?) and for feeding the assembly (*of sages*) on the 17th and 25th days of every month. Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a Maṅgala(ā)-trayōdaśī. Muni Charaṇavijayajī from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work *Yaśōdharachariyā*, Maṅgalā-trayōdaśī is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina.

Sadāśiva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the **Ikkēri-Keḷadi** family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A. D.[2] Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here. He was the elder of the two sons of **Chauḍappa**, the governor of **Malladēśa**, the younger being **Bhadrappa**. Soon after Sadāśiva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājayya, who was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāṇa. Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāśiva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru, besides bestowing on him the title of *Kōṭe-kōlāhala*[3](disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour *rāya-nāyaka* to his name. Sadāśiva's next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of **Chandragutti** and **Bidar** and in recognition of his achievements he got the *biruda* of *Śatru-saptāṅgaharaṇa*. He next put down the chiefs of **Tuḷu** and **Kēraḷa** and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named **Yeḍava** and **Murāri** in the country of **Jālihāḷu** and received as a reward the title of *Yeḍava-Murāri* from the emperor. Sometime later, he marched against Mādarasa of **Baṅkāpura** and took him prisoner. By this time Sadāśiva's younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pilgrimage came back. After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for sometime, Sadāśiva nominated him as his successor with the surname **Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka** and retired to the forest.[4]

The **date of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka** may now be ascertained. Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556). The latest date available for him, *viz.*, Śaka 1486, Dundubhi[5] (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Maṇigārakēri near Bārakūr. And Śaka 1473, Sādhāraṇa[6] (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions. In Śaka 1488, Kshaya[7] (A.D 1566) Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling. Sadāśiva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566. So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A. D. **1550–1562**. The date assigned to him by Rice, *viz*, A. D. 1513-1545 is, therefore, not correct.[8] Here it is necessary to say a word about **Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka's place in the genealogy** of the Keḷadi family. Though a number

[1] A *varāha* is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is *doḍḍa*-(big) *varāha*, the exact significance of which is not clear.

[2] For an account of this family see *A. S. R.* for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff ; and Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 156 ff.

[3] This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri.

[4] This account is based on *Kallōlas* 2-5, *Taranga* V of the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia *Śivatatvaratnākara* edited by Messrs. B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvān P. Sundara Śāstrī.

[5] No. 168 of 1901, *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1901.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 77.

[7] *Ibid*, Nagar 1.

[8] *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, table on p. 157.

of his inscriptions[1] has been discovered he has not been included in the table[2] of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work *Śivatatvaratnākara* enables us to say that Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Sadāśiva.

The sage Bhānu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name who were replaced by Lalitakīrtis in about Śaka 1286.[3] Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his *guru* Munichandradēva and his *guru* Abhinavadēvakīrttidēva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallūru in the Uḍipi Taluk; **Beḷuguḷa** is the well-known Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State; **Kopaṇa** is Kopaḷ, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jainas in the Nizām's Dominions; **Parvata** is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centres of Śaiva worship.[4] **Gōkarṇa** is the village of that name in North Kanara; **Tirumale** is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. **Ūjjantagiri,** which appears as Ūrjayat-giri in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman,[5] is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Nēminātha.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Śrī-**Dharmmanātha**[nē] śaraṇu || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ [|*] jīyā-

2 t=trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ || [1*] Svasti Śrī sakala-jñāna-sāmrājya-pada-rājita[ḥ*] | Va-

3 rthdha(rddha)māna-Jināddhīśa[6]-syādvāda-maṭha-bhāsuraḥ || [2*] **Tiṁtriṇī-gachchha**-vārāśēs=sudhāṁśur=jñāna-dī-

4 dhitiḥ [|*]sa[d*]-dharmma-sarasī-haṁsaḥ pravādi-gaja-kēsarī || [3*] **Kāṇūr-gaṇa-nabhō**-bhāgē bābhāti muni-

5 kuṁ[ja]raḥ | ajñāna-timir-ōddhūti [ḥ*] Śrīmān-**Bhānu**-mun-ī[śva]raḥ || [4*] Paṁch-āchāra-śara-dhvasta-paṁcha-

6 bāṇa-[śa]ra-vrajaḥ | akhaṁḍa-śrī-tapō-lakshmī-nāyakō Bhānu-saṁyamī || [5*] Śrīmad-Bhānu-mu-

7 n-īśva[rō] vijayatē syādvāda-dharmm-āṁbarē śrīmad-jñāna-vinūt[na]-dīdhiti-[śa]ta-dhvast-āṁdhakā-

8 ra-vrajaḥ[|*] śrī-**Mūl-āmala-saṁgha**-nīraja-mahā-shaṁḍēśv[7]=akhaṁḍa-śriyaṁ vyāta[nva]-n=muni-

9 kōka-chāru-nikaraṁ saukhy-ārnn(ṇ)avē magnayan[8] || [6*] **Tuḷu**-dēśav=emba bhūpana poḷeva mahā-pa-

10 dakad=aṁte yesarg(se)guṁ nichkaṁ[9] l dharey-oḷage **Kāpina** nagarada nelanan=āḷva bhūpa **Madda-Heggaḍey**=embaṁ || [7*]

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 2, 3 and 4.
[2] *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 157.
[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 129, f. n. 2.
[4] Nandolal Dey's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 193.
[5] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.
[6] Read *Jinādhīśaḥ*.
[7] Read *shaṇḍēshv-*.
[8] Read *majjayan*.
[9] Read *nichchaṁ*.

11 **Paṁguḷa**-baḷi adhipatiyanu poṁ-gaḷasade(a) nelake tānu nṛipa-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ | **saṁgata**-sabheyoḷu

12 po[gaḷgu]ṁ Aṁgaja-jaya-Jina-pad-ābja-madhukaran=eṁbaṁ || [8*] Bhū-dēviya mukha-kaṁnaḍi bādēṁ [hē]va]-

13 rgge Kāpuv=enisida nagaraṁ | ādaradiṁn=adaro[ḷg=ā] mēdini-mata-Dharmmanāthan=ena(se)guṁ Jinapaṁ || [9*] Ā-nagara-

14 kk=adhipatiyuṁ Śrī-pati **Tiru[ma]rasa**-nṛipa [a]vanī-tilakaṁ | vōmanadali[1] ātānuṁ vōtu karaṁ Mukti-La-

15 kshmig=ittaṁ manamaṁ || [10*] Yēn-eṁbe Madda-Heggaḍe dāna-chatu[r]-vvidhakke tāne chiṁtā-ratnaṁ sanmu(nnu)ta-guṇa-gaṇa-

16 nniḷeyaṁ[2] uṁnnata[3]-śīlavanu tāḷda [nṛi]pa-ripu-saṁhāraṁ || [11*] Dharmmadoḷaṁ [dṛiḍha]-chittanu nirmmala-

17 guru-bhaktiyalli Tirumarasa-nṛipaṁ Dharmma-Jina-Jaina-śāsanamaṁ voṁ-mandiṁ tānu māḍi kriti[ya]-

18 ṁn(nn)=ittaṁ || [12*] Svasti Śrī [||*] Jayādbhudaya[4] **Śālivāhana-Śaka**-varsha **1479** neya saṁda **Naḷa**-saṁvatsara-

19 da **Kārttika-śuddha 1 Ādityavāradalu** Śrīman=mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara satya-ratnākara

20 śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṁjara chatu[s*]samudr-ādhīśvara Kaliyuga- chakravartti śrī-vīrapratāpa **Sadāśiva**-

21 **rāya**-rāja-rājēṁdra-dakshiṇa-bhāga-bhāgya-dēvatā-saṁnibharum=appa **Rāmarājayya-navar[u]** yē-

22 ka-[chha]tradiṁ rājya[va]nu pratipālisut=irdda kāladalu **Bārakūru Maṁgalūralu Sadāśi-(śi)va-Nāyakaru**

23 rājyavaṁ ge[yi]t[5]=irdda kāladalu Tuḷu[va]-dēśa-kāminī-mukha-kamala-tilakāyamā[n]-ānādi-si-

24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-siṁhāsan-ōday-āchal-ālaṁkaraṇa-taruṇa-[t]araṇi-prakāśaruṁ ananya-rājanya-sau[ja]-

25 nany[6]-[au]dāryya-vīryya-dhairyya-[mā]dhuryya-gāṁbhīryya-naya-vinaya-satya-śauch-ādy-anaṁta-guṇa-

26 gaṇa-nūtna-ratn-ābharaṇa-gaṇa-kiraṇ-ōdyōtita-**Bharatādi**-sakala-[pu]rāṇa-purusharum=appa

27 Tirumalarasar=āda **Madda-Heggaḍeyaru** avara nā[ḷi]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-sāvantaru **Kāpina** rājyava-

28 nu pratipālisut=irdda kaladalu[7] [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-maṁḍal-āchāryya mahā-

29 vāda-vādīśvara rāya-vādi-pitāmaha sakala-vidva[jj]ana-chakravarttigaḷuṁ[8] ity-ādy-anēka-bi-

30 rudāvalī-virājamānaruṁ **Kāṇūgra**[9]-gaṇ-āgra-gaṇyarugaḷum=appa Śrīmad-Abhinava-

31 dēvakīrttidēvarugaḷa śishyaru Munichaṁdradēvarugaḷu [a]varugaḷa śishyaru **Dēvachaṁ-dradē**-

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[1] Read *ommanadali*.

[2] Read *nilayam*.

[3] Read *unnata*.

[4] Read *Jay-ābhyudaya*.

[5] Read *geyyutt-*.

[6] Delete *na*.

[7] Read *kāladalu*.

[8] These *birudas* are also borne by Bhaṭṭākaḷaṅka, the author of *Śabdānuśāsana*, the Kannaḍa grammar in Sanskrit, and several other Jaina teachers.

[9] Read *Kāṇūr*-.

32 varugaḷu tamma guru Munichaṁdradēvarugaḷige svargg-āpavarggakke kāraṇav-āgi Kāpina-
33 lu dharmmavanu mādabēk=eṁba chittadiṁda Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyara kūṁ(kū)-
34 ḍeyu avara nāḷinavaru gaṇa-[p]aṇa-sāmaṁtara kūḍeyu Kāpina halara sahāyadiṁ-
35 da dharmmakke voṁdu kshētravanu koḍabēku yeṁdu chittaisal-āgi avarugaḷu dharmma-
36 pariṇāma-svarūpavane vuḷḷavar=āda kāraṇa guru-bhaktiyiṁda tamma sīmeya-
37 lu Ma[llā]r=eṁba [vū]r-oḷage paḍu[va*]ṇa dikkinalu Kaḷaṁtōpatina bāḷkeyalu agaḷi-
38 ṁda voḷage beṭṭina gadde 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mū[va]ttara lekkada batta mūḍe 2 mattaṁ a-
39 gaḷiṁdaṁ horage Pāpinadiy=eṁba ga[dde] 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada bīja
40 mūḍe 4 mattaṁ bāgila gadde 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada mūḍe 4 gadde mū-

Second Side.

41 rakkaṁ bīja mūḍe 10 ī bhūmigaḷige vuḷḷa kare mure mane bāvi halasu māvu su-
42 ṁbe nikkil=urkkaṁrdde kadiru jala pāśā(shā)ṇa saha mūla-dhāreyanu yera(eredu) ko-
43 ṭṭu yisikoṁda doḍḍa vara(ā)ha ga 80 akshā(a)radalu yeṁbhattu vara(ā)ha yī ho-
44 nnige yeraḍu beḷeyalu saha varsha 1 kke baha akki aṁgaḍiya horigeya
45 baḷ[ḷ]a aivattara lekkada akki mūḍe 24 ī akkige naḍava dharmmada vivara Kāpina basti-
46 ya keḷagaṇa neleyalu Dharmma-Tīrtha[ṁ*]kara-sannidhiyalu madhyāhna-kāladalu nityada-
47 lu dina voṁdakke voṁdu baḷḷa akkiya naivēdyakku [Mu]nichaṁdradēvarugaḷa hesa-
48 rinalu naḍa[va] hāla-dhāregu saha akki mūḍe 10 tiṁgaḷu tiṁgaḷu tappade tiṁ-
49 gaḷalli 17 hōhāga naḍava vāra 1 mattaṁ ippatta-aidu 25 hōhāga naḍava
50 vāra 1 aṁtu tiṁgaḷalli yeraḍu vāra samadāya[1] naḍavudakke akki mūḍevu[2]
51 12 ī vāraṁgaḷalli Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi bahāga ā Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi naḍava-
52 [d=e]ṁ[du*] viśēshav-āgi yirisida akki mūḍe 2 aṁtu akki mūḍe yippatta-nālku
53 yī dharmmada sthaḷadalli Baḷḷāḷarige anāya sanāya salladu illa ā stha[ḷa][3]gadalu[4] idda
54 vokkalige biṭṭi biḍāra salladu kāṇike dese appaṇe padadalli yettu(a) salladu yeṁdu
55 sarvvamānyav-āgi Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyaru avara nāḷinavaru ga-
56 ṇa-paṇa-sāmaṁtaru saha tamma dharmma-pariṇāma-nimittav-āgi tamma svarū(ru)chi-
57 yiṁda guru-bhaktiyiṁda voḍaṁbaṭṭu barasi koṭṭa tāṁbra-śāsana imt=a-
58 ppudakke sākshigaḷu ati(dhi)kāri Kāṁta-seṭṭi Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-
59 seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi Bagge-[se*]ṭṭiya aḷiya Kēsaṇa Mūḷūra Beḷile Birumāḷa
60 Dugga Baṁḍāri Birusāmaṇi yimt=inivara vubhay-ānma[ta*]diṁ Ma-
61 ṁgalūra Saṁkaī-Sēnabōvana baraha [|*] yiṁt=ī dharmma-śāsa[na*]kke maṁgaḷa-
62 mahā-śrī śrī śrī[||*]Sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ[|*]
63 para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ niḥ(sh)phalaṁ bhavēt || Dāna-pālanayōr=mmadhyē
64 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ
65 padaṁ || yi(ī) dharmma-śāsanakke āvanān=obba Jainan=ādāva tappidare Beḷugu-
66 ḷada Gummaṭanātha Kopaṇada Chaṁdranātha Ūjjaṁta-giriya Nēmīśvara-
67 modalāda Jina-biṁbagaḷan=oḍa(e)da pāpakke hōharu Śaivan=ādare Pa-

[1] Read *samudāya*.

[2] Read *mūḍe*.

[3] The letter [*ḷa*] is written below the line.

[4] Read *sthaḷadalu*.

68 **rvvata-Gōkarnna**-modalādavaralli[1] kōṭi-liṁgavan=oḍa(e)da pāpakke hōharu
69 Vaishṇavan=ādare **Tirumale**-modalādavaralli kōṭi-Vishṇu-mūrtivan=oḍa(e)-
70 da pāpakke hōharu || Bhadraṁ bhūyāj=Jina-śāsanasya [‖] Śrī [*]

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Obeisance to **Dharmmanātha** !

V. 1. For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. XIII, p. 22.

V. 2. Hail! The illustrious Vardhamāna, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat (*symbolic*) of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the *Syādvāda* school.

Vv. 3 and 4. **Bhānu,** the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the **Tintriṇī-gachchha** ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (*i.e.*, Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of **Kāṇūr-gaṇa.**

V. 5. The sage Bhānu who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices (*āchāras*[2]) is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance

V. 6. The illustrious Bhānu, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of *Syādvāda* religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the (*lake of*) the pure **Mūla-saṁgha** and immersing sages, the herds of lovely *kōkas*, in the ocean of happiness.

V. 7. **Madda-Heggaḍe,** the ruler of the city of **Kāp**—be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the **Tuḷu** country.

V. 8. (*This*) jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the Paṅguḷa lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies (*of great and learned men*).

V. 9. The city known as Kāpu is the mirror of the goddess Earth ; therein shines the Jinapa Dharmmanātha honoured by the world.

V. 10. The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king **Tirumarasa,** the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (*the service of*) the Goddess of Final emancipation.

V. 11. How shall I describe (*him*) ? **Madda-Heggaḍe** is the wish-giving gem (*chintāratna*) for the four kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour.

V. 12. King Tirumarasa possessed of firm faith in *dharmma* granted a Jaina-śāsana (*endowment*) with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written (*to that effect*).

Ll. 18f. Hail ! Prosperity ! In the prosperous **Śālivāhana Śaka** year **1479** expired (*corresponding to*) the cyclic year **Naḷa,** on the 1st (*day*) of the **bright** half of **Kārttika,** on **Sunday,**

Ll. 19ff. when **Rāmarājayya,** who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, ocean of Truth, and adamantine cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, Vīrapratāpa-**Sadāśivarāya,** was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while **Sadāśiva-Nāyaka** was ruling (*as viceroy*) the (*provinces of*) **Bārakūru** and **Maṁgalūru,**

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[1] Read °*davugaḷalli*.

[2] The five *āchāras* are : 1. Darśan-āchāra (to induce steady faith), 2. Jñān-āchāra (to increase knowledge), 3. Charitr-āchāra (to improve one's daily life), 4. Tapa-āchāra (to become a great ascetic) and 5. Viry-āchāra (to increase the power of one's inner self). (*Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa Inscriptions*, Translations p. 54, *f. n.* 2).

Ll. 23ff. and while Madda-Heggaḍe who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the **Tuḷuva** country, the young sun (*emerging from*) the eastern mountain, *viz.*, the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, (*the incarnation as it were of*) all the ancients like Bharata[1] radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, *viz.*, friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, *etc.*, was ruling the chiefdom of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers ;

Ll. 28ff. hail ! 'Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakīrtidēva, the *āchārya* of the circle of royal preceptors, the lord of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendant with several such *birudas*, the foremost (*follower*) of the *Kāṇūr-gaṇa* ;

Ll. 31ff. his disciple **Dēvachandradēva** requested Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (*people*) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his *guru* Munichandradēva ;

Ll. 36ff. and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of **Mallāru** (*situated*) within their province, in the place called Kaḷantōpatina-bāḷke, on the inner side of the trench, one *beṭṭu*[2] land requiring seed (*for sowing*) of 2 *mūḍe* of paddy calculated at 30 *baḷḷa*[3] (*for each mūḍe*) and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadi requiring 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷḷa* and a *bāgila* land requiring seed of 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷḷa* ; (*in all*) three wet lands requiring seed of 10 *mūḍe*, with the properties attached to them, *viz.*, *kare*, *mure*, house, well, jack-trees, mango- trees, *sumbe*, *nikkil*, *urkkamrdde*, crop, water and stone ; (*and Dēvachandradēva*) received 80 big *varāhas*—in words eighty—(*being the money income of the said lands*).

Ll. 44ff. From this gold (*was to be purchased*), at both crops, 24 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *baḷḷa* of the standard prevalent in the bazaar. The (*following are the*) details of the charities to be managed with this rice :

Ll. 46ff. 10 *mūḍe* of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one *baḷḷa* each day and for the *hālu-dhāre*, conducted in the name of Munichandradēva to Dharmanātha-Tīrthaṁkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp ; 12 *mūḍe* of rice for feeding Jain ascetics (*samudāya*) on 2 days in the month, *viz.*, the 17th and 25th day. If either of these days happened to be a *Maṁgalā-trayōdaśī*, 2 *mūḍe* of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that *Maṁgalā-trayōdaśī*. Thus the total is 24 *mūḍe*.

Ll. 53f. In this place of charity the taxes *anāya*[4] and *sanāya*[5] were not to be levied by the Ballāḷas[6] ; the Vokkalu had no *biṭṭi*[7] and *biḍāra*[8] and the fees *kāṇike*, *dese* and *appaṇe* could not be raised.

Ll. 55ff. (*This is*) the copper-plate inscription recording the *sarvamānya* gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their *guru*.

[1] Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommaṭa and son of Ādinātha, the first Tīrthankara. (Above, Vol. VII, p. 108 and *Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1913, p. 5).

[2] *beṭṭu* is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually.

[3] *baḷḷa* is equal to 2 *seers* generally.

[4] *āya* generally means income but the import of *anāya* is not clear.

[5] *sanāya* is perhaps a mistake for *sēnāya*, *i.e.*, tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

[6] *Ballāḷas* are, like the *Heggaḍes*, a sect of the Bant class (*South Canara Manual*, Vol. I, p. 159).

[7] *biṭṭi* generally means free labour.

[8] *biḍāra* is perhaps a mistake for *birāḍa*, a tax. (See *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 255 and 278).

Ll. 58ff. The witnesses for this (*transaction*) are : Atikāri (*Adhikāri*) Kāṁta-seṭṭi, Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi, Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi, Bagge-seṭṭi's nephew Kēsaṇa, Mūlūra Beḷiḷe, Birumāḷa Dugga and Baṁḍāri Birusāmṇi. With the consent of all these, Saṁkavi-Sēnabōva of Maṁgalūr wrote this. Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed !

Ll. 62ff. Imprecatory verses.

Ll. 65ff Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummaṭanātha of **Beḷaguḷa**, Chandranātha of **Kopaṇa** and Nēmīśvara of **Ūjjantagiri** and other **Jaina** idols ; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of liṅgas at **Parvata, Gōkarṇa** *etc.* ; if a Vaishṇava, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Vishṇu in (*holy*) places like **Tirumale.** May there be prosperity to the *Jina-śāsana* (doctrine). Fortune !

No. 9.—SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA ; [VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This short inscription was found at Sāmōlī in the district of Bhōmaṭ in Mewār and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum at Ajmēr. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has already noticed it.[1] It consists of twelve well-engraved lines of writing, covering a space of about $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. The stone being slightly broken at the lower right corner, a portion of the inscription is missing. A few letters here and there are also indistinct. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{2}{5}''$. On account of its importance as the earliest inscription of the Guhila family of Mewār, a detailed notice of it is given below.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets of the acute-angled type. They are almost similar to those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita [2] of V. S. 718 (A. C. 661) though the *mātrās* of the vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ū* have different forms. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is written very carelessly. As a result, the metres employed do not always stand scanning, and the meaning is also not quite clear in a few places. As regards **orthography,** the following points may be noted :—*n* is used for *ṇ* in *ripūnāṁ* (l. 4), and *ṇ* for *n* in *-jaṇānaṁndī-* (l. 5) and *-vāsiṇyā* (l. 9) ; the *anusvāra* is used for *m* in *-saṁbādham* (l. 8) and is redundant in *-jaṇānaṁndī-* (l. 5) and *=uptāditaṁm=āraṇya-* (l. 7) ; the *visarga* is omitted in *Harē* (l. 2), *-narapati* (l. 5) *etc.*, while it is redundant in *-bhayāḥ* (l. 2), *-mahataraḥ* (l. 10) and *-janivaḥ* (l. 4) *etc.* ; *sandhi* is not observed in *-jīvanaṁ āgara°* (l. 6), *-āgata ashṭādaśa-* (l. 7) and other places, while it is wrongly used in *-nivahaṁ mavālōkya* (l. 3). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the text and the footnotes thereto.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows :—After the invocation of the goddess Chaṇḍikā (ll. 1-4), the epigraph praises **Śīlāditya** as the conqueror of his foes (ll. 4-5). Ll. 5-7 record that a *Mahājana* (*community*) headed by **Jē[nta*]ka** who had migrated from **Vaṭanagara**, started an *āgara* (? Skt *ākara*, a mine) in Āraṇyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. In the next two lines it is said that the *Mahatara* (*Mahattara*) Jēntaka, at the command of the *Mahājana*, founded at the place a temple (*dēvakula*) of Araṇyavāsinī (Durgā), which was noted for its eighteen *vaitālikas* (bards), hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people. The sense of the last two lines

[1] *PRAS.*, W.C., 1908-09, p. 48 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29ff.

is not very clear, the inscription being broken at the corner. It appears, however, that the *Mahatara* Jēntaka, having seen the approach of the messengers of Yama entered fire (?) or committed suicide at the holy place of Dēbuvaka. The record ends with the **date** 703 ***Katika*** (*Kārttika*) *di* (?)-. Evidently the year belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era and corresponds to 646 A.C.

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription it would appear that Śīlāditya was a scion of the Guhila family of Mewār. This inference is supported by the documents which have already been published—*e.g.*, the Āṭapura[1] inscription of Śaktikumāra, the inscription of Chitōr,[2] dated V. S. 1331, the Mt. Ābū[3] inscription of Samarasiṁha. As has been pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,[4] the name Śīla in the Āṭapura inscription stands for Śīlāditya who was succeeded by Aparājita[5] whose inscription, dated V. S. 718 (A. C. 661), has been alluded to above. Nothing of importance is recorded about the *Mahatara* Jēntaka.

Vaṭanagara of the inscription is evidently the same as Vaṭa[6] (Vaṭapura) which has been identified with Vasantagaḍh[7] in Sirōhī State and is about 16 miles from Sāmōlī, where the inscription was found.

This inscription is of special interest, as it enables us to rectify a mistake made in connection with the pedigree of Gōha. Col. Tod supposed that Gōha (Guhila, Guhadatta, Guhāditya, *etc.*, the founder of the Guhila family of Mewār, to which Śīlāditya of this inscription belongs) descended from the last Śīlāditya (Śīlāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.[8] The Alīnā copper-plate inscription[9] of the last Śīlāditya of Valabhīpura dated in Gupta Saṁvat 447 (A. C. 766-67), would show that he was the ruler of the Valabhī kingdom at least up to the date of his inscription, *i.e.*, the latter half of the eighth century A. C.[10] As the date of Śīlāditya of the present inscription is Saṁvat 703 (A. C. 646), that of Gōha or Guhila, the fifth[11] predecessor from him, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A. C., if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers preceding Śīlāditya (of Mewār). Thus there is a difference of about two centuries between the reigns of Gōha (Guhila) of Mewār and the last Śīlāditya of Valabhīpura. In other words, we might say that Gōha (Guhila) had established his rule in Mewār about two centuries prior to the break up of the Valabhī kingdom. Therefore Gōha could not have been the descendant of the last Śīlāditya (Śīlāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.[12]

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[1] यस्यान्वये जगति भोजमहेन्द्रनाग-
शीलापराजितमहेन्द्रभटेकवीरा: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

[2] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 75, v. 18.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 348, v. 14.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

[5] *Cf.* note 1 above where the kings are mentioned in succession.

[6] Above, Vol. IX, p. 12.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 191. *Cf.* also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187. [But Vasantagaḍh cannot be philologically derived from Vaṭanagara.—Ed.]

[8] Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, pp. 253-59.

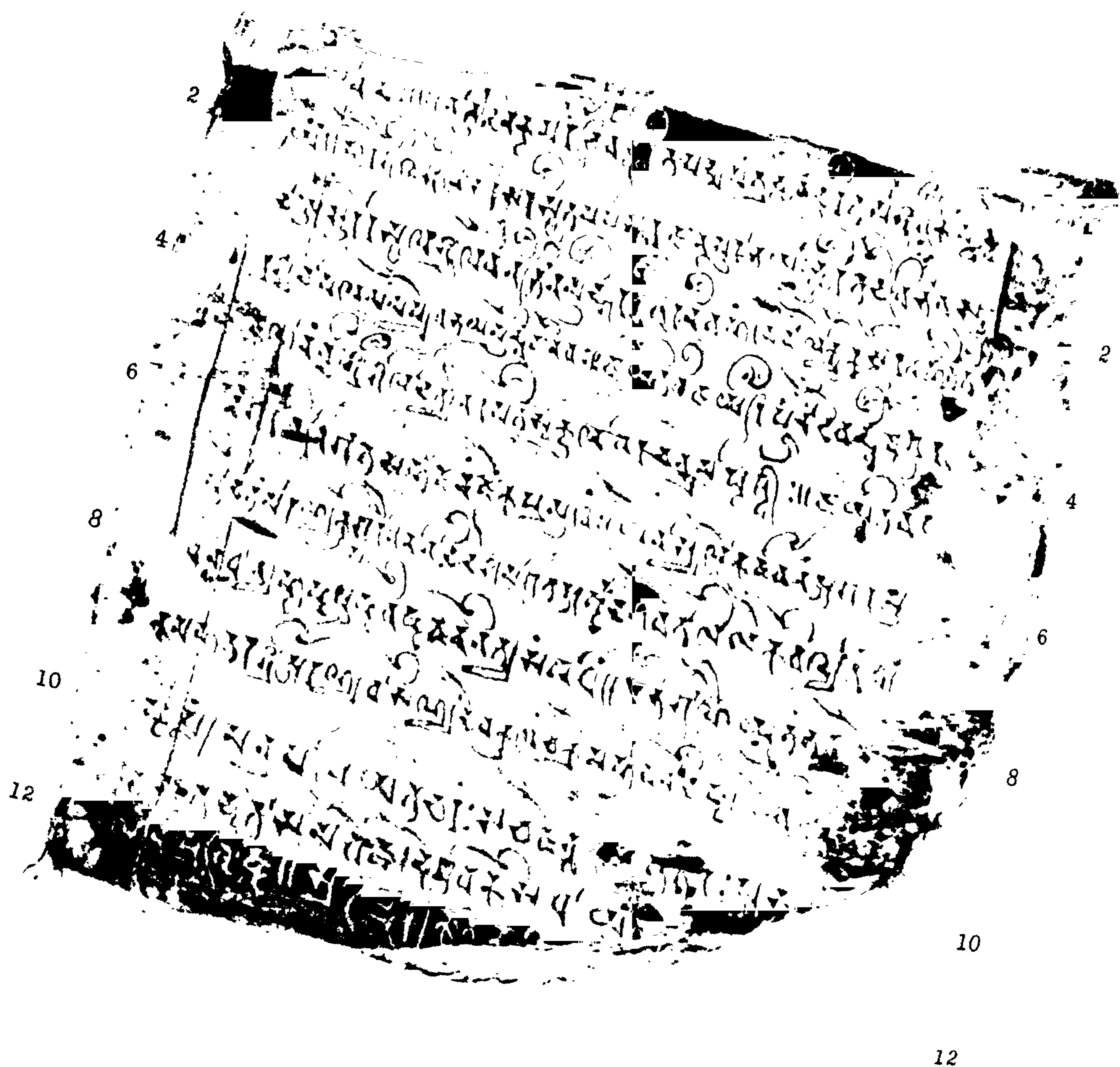
[9] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription to Śīlāditya VII. In fact, Śīlāditya II of his book (*vide* p. 41, introduction) did not actually reign at Valabhī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 208 and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 308). Hence Śīlāditya VII ought to be Śīlāditya VI. [This is a matter of opinion only; *cf.* Kielhorn's Northern List No. 487, footnote 5.—Ed.]

[10] Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 67. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, p. 254, note 2.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.

[12] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, pp. 169 74.

SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA—[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE: SIX-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.[1]

1 ओं[2] नम: ॥ पुनातु दिनक्रम(न्म)रोचिविच्छुरितपद्मपं(प)त्रच्छवि दुरितमाशु स्व(च)ण्डिकापादद्व[3]-

2 यं ॥ च्छरे(र:)शिखिशिखाभकेसरस्थितमपास्तरज(जो) नूपुरा(र)भया:(या)च्छुरितदिविभाव(दिग्विभागं?) स-

3 दा:(दा) [।*] असुरोर(र:)स्थल(लं) शूलविनिर्भिन(न्न)मुद्गिररुधिरनिवहं । [समा]लोक्य केसरि(रो) वहति ति-

4 रश्च चापलममप्येव[4] भयमुद्विजनिव:[5] ॥ जयति विजयी रिपूनां(णां) देवद्विजगुरु-

5 जणा(ना)नंन्दो:(नन्दो) [।*] श्रीशीलादित्यो नरपति(ति:) स्वकुलाब(म्ब)रचन्द्रमा(मा:) पृथ्वो:[6] ॥ जयति वट-

6 नगरविनिर्गतमहाजनं(नो) जे[न्त*]कप्रमुखं:(ख:) । येनास्य लोकजीवनं आ(नमा)गरमु-

7 मा(त्वा)दितं(त)मारण्यकूपगिरौ:(रौ)[7] ।[।*] नानादिदेशमागत[8] अष्टादशवैतालि[क*]ले(लो)कविख्यातं:(तम्) ।(।)

8 धनधान्यहृष्टपुष्ट[प्र*]विष्टजननित्यसंबाधं(धम्)॥ एभिर्गुस्येयु(र्यु)तं तत्र [जेन्त]-

9 कमहतर(त्तर:) श्रीअरण्यवासिण्या(न्या) देवकुलं चक्रे महाजनादिष्ट(ष्ट:) ॥ देवो च प्र[ति]-

10 ष्टाप्यंमनुपालयतु[9] [चि]रं:(रं) स च जेन्तकमहत(त्त)र: आस ....

11 वस्वतदूता[10] समवेच्च(च्य) । देबुवके सिधा(द्धा)यत[ने] ....

12 लनं[11] प्रविष्ट(ष्ट:) ॥ ७०० २ ॥ कति[क][12] [f] ..

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] 'ण्डि° is engraved above the line, while °द° of °पाद° is engraved just below °पा°. The sign of आ in °पा° is bent downwards and is different from other आ marks.

[4] Read तिरश्चां चापलमप्येव ?

[5] Read भयमुद्विजन्निव.

[6] Read पृथ्व्याम्. Probably the metre should be *Udgīti.*

[7] The °प° of °कूप° is written below the line under °गि°. If we read °निर्गतं° in place of °विनिर्गत° (in l. 6) then the metre would be *Udgīti.*

[8] Read नानादिग्देशागताष्टादश°.

[9] Read प्रतिष्ठामनु°.

[10] Read वैवस्वतदूतान्.

[11] Probably ज्वलनं was intended.

[12] Read कार्त्तिक.

No. 10.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA—THE YEAR 22.

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES.

These plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in 1915-16.[1] A summary of the contents of the inscription they bear, as drawn by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, was published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Eastern Circle* for that year.[2]

The **plates** are three in number and are joined together by a copper **ring** to which is attached a **seal** ($1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$) which is ellipsoid in shape and bears the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya.* They are identical in size and measure $7\frac{1}{4}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ each. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only while the remaining two bear inscription on both the faces. There are altogether fifty-seven lines of writing on these three plates, which are distributed as follows : the first plate has eleven lines, the second, eleven lines on each side ; and the third, twelve lines on each side. The writing on the whole is neat and clear but each line abounds in mistakes due both to the composer and the engraver.

The record is written in incorrect **Sanskrit.** The first eleven lines of it are in verse. They contain four stanzas of which the first three are already known from the two Baudh plates of the same prince.[3] These verses contain an invocation to Śiva and the genealogy of the donor. This grant mentions two ancestors of Raṇabhañja, namely, Śilābhañja and Śatrubhañja, while the Baudh grant (B) names only one, *i.e.*, Śatrubhañja, his father. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the **village of Vāhiravāḍā** which stood on the banks of the Mahānadī and was included in Dakshiṇapali and the Khiñjali-*maṇḍala*, to the god Vijaēsara (Vijayēśvara), by Mahādēvī Vijyā (Vidyā) who was the daughter of the illustrious Rāṇaka Niyārnama. The god Vijaēsara is evidently a *Śiva-liṅga* and the donor, the wife of Raṇabhañja himself. The document describes Raṇabhañja as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, the *tilaka* of the spotless Bhañja race and master of both the Khiñjalis, who had obtained the five great '*śabdas*' whose feet were worshipped by the *Mahāsāmantas* and who had obtained the blessing of the goddess Stambhēśvarī.

Mahānadī is evidently the well-known river of that name in Orissa. Khiñjali is mentioned in several Bhañja grants which have already been published. I am unable to identify the village Vāhiravāḍā.

The **date** of the inscription is, apparently, regular and is given in a half chronogram as *Indu-vāk-viśanti varisē* (*=Indu-vāk-viṁśati-varshē*).[4] Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, *vāk* being taken in the sense of 1.[4]

I edit the inscription from the original plates which were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa.

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[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16*, p. 7, para. 6.

[2] P. 4, para. 5.

[3] Above, Volume XII, pp. 323-28.

[4] [But *vāk* (*vāch*) does not mean 'one' though it might stand for 'four' as it is supposed to have four stages, namely *Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī*.—The reading, however, is not certain.—Ed.]

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1-3, *Vasantatilakā ;* v. 4, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam ;* vv. 5-19, *Anushṭubh ;* and v. 20, *Pushpitāgrā.*]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[1] Ōṁ svasti [*] Saṁhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-saṁbhrānta-kiṅka-

2 ra-ku(kṛi)tānta-[nitānta *]-bhinnaṁ [*] bhinn-Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpatra[2] |[3] tad=bhē(bhai)ravaṁ Ha-

3 ra-vapu[r*]=bhaṁ(bha)vataḥ prapātuḥ[4] || [1*] Durvvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-pratipa[ksha-paksha-la*]kshmī-haṭha-gra-

4 haṇa-suprasṛita-pratāpā[ḥ |*] Bhañjan(ān)=narādhipatayō[5] va(ba)havau(vō) va(ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhūta-

5 yō(yē)=tra bhuva(vi) bhu(bhū)ri-sahasra-sa[ṁ *]khyā[ḥ] | [| 2 *] Tēshāṁ kulē sakala-bhu(bhū)ta[la *]-pā-

6 la-maulī(li)-māl-ārchchhit-āṁghṛi-jugalō[6] valavāṁ[7]=nṛipō=bhu(bhū)t śrī-

7 Śilābhañjadēva[ḥ*] pravakraṭa[8]-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-nirdārit-āri-

8 hṛidayō=sya pitā nṛipasya | [| 3 *] Gāmbhīryēṇa payōnidhi[ḥ*] [9] thiratayā[10] bhu-(bhū)mi[r *]=

9 va(ba)lēn=ā[ni *]la[s *]=tējōbhir=yalanō[11] =ryamā samatayā ||[9] śubhrair=jjaśōbhi[12] śaśī(śi) [| *]

10 ātmā sarvva-jagana-mana[13]-sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viyajāta[14] |[9] śrī-

11 Satrubhañja[15] ity=atula-dhī[ḥ*] tasy=ātmaja[ḥ*] Svayaṁmbhu(Śambhu)vata(t) || [4*] Anyō-nya-mada-

Second Plate : First Side.

12 māna-mīlita[16]-samuddhata-nṛipa-chakra-chaturaṅga-va(ba)la-kshōbha-chalī(li)ta-dha-

13 rā-maṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad-atula-dhulī[17] -vitāna-saṁ-

14 chchhan[n*]a-jany-āṅgaṇa-ga[ja*]-skandha-vēdikā-svayaṁmva(yamva)r-āyāt(ta-)||[9] pariṇīta-ja[ya*]-lakshmī-

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Read °*ātapatraṁ.*

[3] Punctuation superfluous.

[4] Read *prapātu.*

[5] [*Bhañj°narādhipatayō.*—Ed.]

[6] Read -*aṅghri-yugalō.*

[7] Read *balavān-*

[8] Read *prakaṭa-.*

[9] Punctuation superfluous.

[10] Read *sthiratayā.*

[11] Read =*jvalanō*=

[12] Read °*yyaśōbhiś*°

[13] Read °*jagan-manaḥ-*

[14] Read *viyaj-jātaḥ.*

[15] Read *Śatrubhañja.*

[16] Read °*milita-*

[17] Read °*dhūlī-*

15 samānandita-paura-jana-ma(ā)nasaḥ śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patiḥ purād=Dhṛitipura-nā-

16 mna[ḥ*] || Sa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavala-kara-yaśaḥ-paṭala-dhavalita-dig-va-

17 danō(naḥ) |[1] Ā(A)navarata-pravṛit[t*]a-samnārna[2] -dān-ā[na *]ndita-sakala-janō(naḥ) |[1]

18 Ā(A)ṇḍaja-vaṅ(ṁ)śa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaishṇava(vō) mātā-pitṛi-pāda(d-ā)nu-

19 dhyāta[ḥ*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-Khiñjal-ā(ly-a)dhipati[ḥ *] sama-dhigata-

20 pañcha-mahā-śavda(bdō) mā(ma)hāsāmanta-vandita-[charaṇaḥ*] Stambhēśvarī-lav-dha(bdha)-vara-prasā-

21 da[ḥ*] |[1] Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva[ḥ*] kuśalī [|*] Ih=aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍalē

22 bhavishyad-rāja-rāja(ā)nak-āntataṅga[3]-kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-vrā(brā)hma-

Second Plate : Second Side.

23 ṇa-pradhānā[n *] anyā[ṁ]ś=cha daṇḍapāśika-chāṭa-bhāṭṭa[4] -vallabha-jātīnā[5] ||[5] ya-

24 thārhi[7] mānayati vaidhayati[8] samādisayati(śati) ch=ānyat ||[6] sarvvata[ḥ *] si(śi)vam=a-

25 smākaṁ | Viditam[9]=astu bhavatāḥ[10] Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li-prativa(ba)ddha |[6] Mā(Ma)hānadi(dī)-vima-

26 la-jala-viji[11]-prakshālita-taṭa-Vāhira(Bāhira)vāḍā-grāma[ś*] |[6] chatu[ḥ *]si (sī)mā-paryanta-[ḥ*] |[6]

27 nidhya upanidhī[12]-sahitaṁ(taḥ) mātā-pitrō-yatma-jaśa[13]-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē

28 salila-dhārāḥ[14]-puraḥsarēṇa vidhinā | Śrī-Vijyā-māhādēvyā[15] |[5]

29 [Para]ma-māhēsvarī(śvaryā) | Rāṇaka-Śrī-Niyārnama-sutā(tayā) Vijaēsarāya[16]

30 datvā vidhi-vidhānēna[17] sa-vidhēya-tāmvra[18]-śāsana[ḥ] pratipāditō=yaṁ || Pāraṁ-ma[19]-

[1] Punctuation superfluous.
[2] Read °sammāna°.
[3] Read °antaraṅga°.
[4] Read °bhaṭa°.
[5] Read °jātīyān.
[6] Punctuation superfluous.
[7] Read yathārhaṁ.
[8] Read bōdhayati.
[9] At first this was also written di, which was erased and ta written in its place.
[10] Read bhavatāṁ.
[11] Read °vīchi°
[12] Read °nidhy-upanidhi°
[13] Read mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha yaśaḥ
[14] Read °dhārā°.
[15] Read °Vidyā-mahādēvyā.
[16] Read Vijayēśvarāya.
[17] °na is written below the line.
[18] Read tāmra°.
[19] The ma is superfluous.

PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA - THE YEAR 22.

i

iia

iib

iiia

iiib

31 parya-kulāvatārēṇa ya(yā)vad-Vē[1] sarvva-vachanēna yathā dharma(mā)[ḥ*] prarōhaṁti ||[2] sā(yā)

32 sanē(tē)na pratinā(tanō)si sahasrēṇa virōhasi [|*] ēva[ṁ*] vu(bu)ddhā(dhvā) par-ārddhañ=cha paratō

33 vaṁś-āvatārēṇa(ṇ=ā)py=asmad-antarōr(uparōdhād)=dharmma-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachi smalp-āpi[3]

Third Plate : First Side.

34 vā(bā)dhā karaṇīyā | tathā ch=au(ch=ō)ktaṁ dharmma-śāstrēshu [||*] Phāla-kṛishṭā-[ṁ*] mahī[ṁ*] dadyā[t*]=sa-

35 vīja(jā)ṁ sasya-mēdinī[ṁ*](śālinīṁ) | yāva[t*] su(sū)ryakṛit-ālōka[4] tāva[t*] = svargga[5] mahīyatē | [| 5*]

36 Vēda-vām-asmayōji[6] vadanti rishi[7]-dēvatāḥ[|*] bhu(bhū)mi-hartrā[8] tath=ānyach=cha ā-

37 hō mā hara mā hara | [|6*] Yath=āpsu patitaṁ Śakra tē(tai)la-vindu[r*]=visa[r*]ppati |

38 ēvaṁ bhu(bhū)mi- kṛitaṁ dānaṁ sasya(syē) sasyē prarōhati | [| 7*] Ādityō Varu-

39 ṇō Vishṇu[r*]=Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāśana[ḥ*] | Śulapāṇis[9]=tu bhagavāṁ[10] a-

40 bhinandranti[11] bhu(bhū)mida[m*] | [| 8*] Āsphōṭaya[ṁ*]ti pitaraḥ pravalgaya(ga)-

41 nti pitāmaha(hāḥ) | Bhu(Bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(taḥ) sa mē trātā bhavishya-ti | [| 9*] Rvvahu-[12]

42 bhir=vvasudhā dat[t*]ā rājānaiḥ[13] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*][14] | [| 10*] Mā-ru(bhū)d=aphala-saṁkā ya paradatēshu

43 pālitaṁ[15] | yasya-yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[ṁ*] [| 11*] Sva-dat[t*]ā[m*]=para-dat[t*]ā-

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[1] Read *Vēd-ārtha-*

[2] [Punctuation superfluous. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 324, l. 22 & *f.n.*—Ed.]

[3] Read *kēnachit svalp-āpi.*

[4] Read °*ālōkas*°

[5] Read °*svarggē.*

[6] Read *vēda-vāk-smṛitayōjihvā.*

[7] Read *rishi*°.

[8] Read *harttā.* [See above Vol. XII, p. 325, l. 40.—Ed.]

[9] Read *Śūlapāṇis-*

[10] Read *bhagavān.*

[11] Read *abhinandanti.*

[12] Read *Bahubhir*°

[13] Read *rājabhiḥ.*

[14] The second half of this verse has been omitted. [The second half has been put as the second half of the next verse, the latter half of which (*viz., svadānāt phalam etc.*) has been omitted.—Ed.]

[15] Read *bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ.*

44 m=vā yō harēd=va(rēta va)sundharāṁ | sa vishṭhāyā[ṁ*] kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[s*]=saha pachyatē | [| 12*] Hiraṇya-

45 m=ēkaṁ gām=ēkaṁ(kāṁ) bhu(bhū)mim[1]=apy=arddham-aṅgulaṁ | Hara[n*]=narakam=āyāti yāvad=ābhuti(bhūta)-

Third Plate : Second Side.

46 samplavaḥ(vaṁ) | [| 13*] Bhu(Bhū)mi[ṁ*] yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yach(ś)=cha bhu(bhū)mi[ṁ*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau

47 niyatau[2] s[v*]argga-gāminau | [| 14*] Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)-mi[ṁ*] manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mō)-vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba)-

48 ddhō vāruṇaiḥ pāśai[s*]=tirya[g*]-yōnī(ni)shu jāyatē |[| 15*] Mā pārthivaḥ(va) kadāchi[d= dhi*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ mana-

49 sād=api(sā api) | aṁgē padham[3]=abhaisva(sha)jyaṁ ētat hālāhalaṁ vishaṁ |[| 16*] Ā(Na) visha[ṁ*] visham=ity=ā-

50 hu[ḥ*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ visha[ṁ*] uchyatē | visham=ēkākinō(naṁ) hanti vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautri(tra)ka[ṁ*] | [| 17*] Lauha-chu(chū)-

51 rṇṇ-āśva[4]-chu(chū)rṇṇañ=cha vishañ=cha jarayē[n*]=naraḥ | vra(bra)hmasvaṁ triṣhu lōkēshu kaḥ pumāṁ(n)

52 jaramājvaramishyati[5] | [| 18*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi[6] y-Āśvamēdha-śatāni

53 cha | gavāṁ-kōṭi-pradattēna[7] bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na śyudhyati[8] | [| 19*] Iti kamala-dal-ā-

54 mvu(bu)-vi[ṁ*]du-lōlā[ṁ*] śrīyam[9]=anuchintya shantasya[10]-jīvitañ=cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha

55 vudaiḥ[11] na hi purushaiḥ paraki(kī)tta(rtta)yō vilōpyā[ḥ*] | [| 20*] Vijaya-rājyē saṁmva(saṁvat)sar=ēndu-vvāg-vi-[12]

56 santi-varisē(varshē) uktirnnañ[13]=cha vaṇika(k)-suvarṇṇakāra-Sivaṇāga(gēna) Pāṇḍi-suta(tēna) [|*] mahā-

57 rājakīya-mudrēṇati[14] ||

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[1] Read *bhūmēr=*

[2] Read *niyataṁ.*

[3] Read *param=abhai°*

[4] Read *°āśma°*

[5] Read *°jarayishyati.*

[6] Read *-sahasrēṇ=Āśvamēdha-śatēna.*

[7] Read *-pradānēna.*

[8] Read *śuddhyati.*

[9] Read *śriyam=*

[10] Read *manushya°*

[11] Read *buddhvā.*

[12] [See note 4, p. 100 above.—Ed.]

[13] Read *utkīrṇṇañ°*

[14] [Possibly meant for *°mudrayā lāñchhitam=iti.*—Ed.]

No. 11.—THE KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V.S. 1167.

By R. D. Banerji, M.A.[1]

The inscription edited below is incised on **two thick plates** of copper which weigh 15 lbs. 7 oz. and now belong to Mr. J. J. Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India, and lent to me in November, 1920, for publication. There are two holes in each of these plates through which they appear to have been once tied together by means of two rings like many of the Valabhī plates which have now been published. There is **no seal** attached to them but a kneeling **figure of Garuḍa,** holding a snake in each hand, is incised at the proper right corner of the second plate, as is seen in the Dharampurī plates[2] of Vākpatirāja of V.S. 1031, the Ujjain plates[3] of Bhōjadēva of V.S. 1078 and the Māndhātā plates[4] of Jayasiṁha I of V.S. 1112. The plates measure $12\frac{3}{16}''$ by 8″ each and are incised on one side only. In all, there are twenty-nine lines of writing on them, seventeen being incised on the first plate and twelve on the second. The average height of letters is $\frac{3}{8}''$.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses at the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is written in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Naravarmadēva,** who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, the illustrious Bhōjadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.*, Sindhurājadēva.

The **object** of the charter is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmaṇa named Dvivēda Āsā(śā)dhara, son of Nārāyaṇa of the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* and Mādhyandina-*śākhā.* The gift-land consisted of twenty *nivarttanas* given by the king Naravarmadēva himself on the **12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1167** (=Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A.D.) when this grant was issued. The charter also refers to a previous grant of twenty *halas* of land, out of which ten *halas* were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Rājadēva on the **15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year 1154,** four *halas* by his daughter-in-law,[5] the illustrious Mahādēvī, probably on the same date, and six *halas* by the king himself, on the **15th day of the bright half of Pausha in the year 1159** on the occasion of the Bhūtaraprana (Bhūtarātri ?)-*parvan.*[6] Thus, **three different dates** are mentioned in the inscription, probably, with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when the present charter was issued. The gift-land lay in the village of Kadambapadraka which was in possession of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the *pratijāgaraṇaka* of Mandāraka in the Upēndrapura-*maṇḍala.* The measurement was called a plough measure (*hala*) which was of ninety-six rods (*daṇḍas*). The length of the *daṇḍa* in Mālwā at this period is unknown. A town named Upēndrapura is mentioned in the Ranod inscription[7] of the Mattamayūra ascetics which seems to

[1] [This article was taken up for publication after the sad and premature demise of the author and was revised by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy.—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 f.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

[4] Above, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff.

[5] [Probably *vadhū* is to be taken in the sense of 'wife' here.—N. P. C.]

[6] [The correct reading seems to be *Udagayana-parvaṇi.* According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *udagayana saṁkrānti* took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, A.D. 1102, *i.e.*, two days before the date given in the present grant.—N. P. C.]

[7] Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

have given its name to the *maṇḍala*. I am unable to identify either Kadambapadraka or Mandāraka. The grant was issued under the sign manual of the *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva and the *Dūtaka* of the charter was Ṭhakkura Kēśava.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 2, 4 and 5, Anushṭubh ; Vv. 3 and 7, Vasantatilakā ; V. 6, Indravajrā ; V. 8, Śālinī ; V. 9, Pushpitāgrā.]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti || Śrī[r*]=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Jayati [Vyō]makēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi (bi)bharttri(rtti) tāṁ | aindavīṁ śirasā lēkhāṁ jagad-vījāṅga sa kṛitiṁ[3] || [1||*]

2 Tanvantu vaḥ Smar-ārātēḥ kalyāṇam=aṁśaṁ jaṭāḥ | kalp-ānta-samay-ādāta-[4]taḍid-valaya-piṁgalāḥ || [2||*] Paramabhadvā(ṭṭā)raka-Mahārājā-

3 dhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-**Sindhurājadēva**-vā(pā)dānudhyāta-Parana(ma)bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-**Bhōjadēva**-pādānudhyā-

4 ta-Va(Pa)ramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-**Udayādityadēva**-padānudhyāta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Pa-

5 ramēśvara-śrī-**Naravarmmadēvaḥ** kuśalī || **Upē[*n]drapura-maṇḍalē Mandāraka-pratijāgaraṇakē Mahāmaṁḍalīka-śrī-Rājya(ja)dēva-bhuyya(jya)-**

6 **māna-Kadamva(mba)padraka-grāmē** samupagatāsnamasta[5]-rāja-purushān=Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇ-āntarān[6]=[pra]tinivāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadādī[ṁ*]ś=cha vō(bō)- | [7]

7 dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ || yathā śrīmad-Dhār-āvasthitair=asmābhiḥ snātvā charāchara-guruṁ bhagavantaṁ Bhavānīpatiṁ samabhya[r*]chchya saṁsā-

8 rasy=āsāratā[ṁ] dṛishṭvā | Tathā hi | Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam=[ā]pāta-mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās=tṛi | [7]

9 ṇ-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narāṇāṁ dharmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [3||*] Bhramat-saṁsāra-chakr-āgra-dhār-ādhārām=imāṁ śriyaṁ [|*]

10 prāpya yē na dadus=tēshāṁ paśchāttāpaḥ paraṁ phalaṁ || [4||*] Iti jagatō vina[śva]raṁ svarūpam=ākalayy=ādṛishṭa-phalam=aṁgīkṛitya chandr-ārkk-ā-

11 rṇṇava-kshiti-samakālaṁ yāvat=parayā bha[ktyā] | [8] śrī-Madhyadēś-āntaḥpāti-Śṛiṁga-pura-sthāna-vinirggata-Kātyāyana-gōtra-Kātyāyana-

12 Kapila-Viśva(śvā)mitr-ēti-tṛi-pravara-Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyi-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dvir(Dvi)vēda-Nārāyaṇa-pautra-Dīkshita-Dēvasa(śa)rmma-suta-**Dvivēda-Āsā(śā)dharāya**

13 uparilikhita-yā(grā)mātshaṇṇavati-parvva-daṁ(da)ṇḍa-prāmāṇyēna bhēya[9] dvichatvārisan(riṁśan)-mādhyakēna bhū-nivarttana-viṁśati-pratya | [9] | Bhū-

14 hala-vi[ṁ*]śatiḥ param=atō[10] Mahāmaṇḍalīka-śrī-**Rājadēvēna chatuḥpa[ṁ*]chāsa(śa)d-adhika-śat-aikādaśa-saṁvatsarē Kā[r*]ttika-śudi-paṁchada-**

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[1] From the original plates and impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Read *jagad-vīj-ānkur-ākṛitim.*

[4] Read *-samay-ōddāma-.*

[5] Read °*gatānsamasta-.*

[6] Read *-ōttarān=.*

[7] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[8] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[9] [Probably we have to read *mēyā .... viṁśatiḥ prattā.*—N. P. C.]

[10] Read *param | Atō.*

KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V. S. 1167.

FIRST PLATE.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



स्वहस्तोयं महाराजश्रीनरवर्म्मदेवस्य ॥

15 **śyā[ṁ]** sva-bhuktō kasyitam vāddhāpita(?)-bhū-hala-daśakati-(bhi)rvvā[1] Mahāmaṇḍalika-śrī-Rājadēva-vadhū-śrī-**Mahādēvyā** pū[r]vva-kalpē ta(da)-[2]

16 tvān(ttā) bhū-hala-chatushṭayaṁ | Tathā asmābhir=**ēkōnashashṭy-adhika-śat-i(ai)kādaśaka-saṁvatsarē Pausha-śudi-**

17 **paṁchadaśyā[ṁ]** saṁjāta-bhūtaraprana-parvvaṇi kasyitatvaṁ[3] (?) bhū-hala-shaṭka [ṁ*] | Ēvaṁ yathāyathaṁ bhū-hala-vi[ṁ*]śa- |[4]

Second Plate.

18 tiḥ sa-sīmā-tṛiṇa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantā sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-hō(bhō)ga-sōparikara-sarvv-ādāya-samētā

19 sāvā(mātā)-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhidṛi(vṛi)ddhayē śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvva-katayā pradattā [|*] Tē(Ta)n-matvā tan-ni-

20 vāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadair=yathādīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikē(ka)m=ājñā-śravana=vidhēyair=bhu(bhū)tvā sarvvam=amushmē(shmai) samupa-

21 nētavyaṁ | Ṣāmānyaṁ ch=aitat=puṇya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhvā asmadaṁsajair[5]=any[ai]r=api bhāvi-bhōktṛibhir=asmat-p[r*]adatta-dha[r*]mm-ādāyō=yam=anumantavyaḥ | [4]

22 pālanīyaś=scha | Uktaṁ cha | Va(Ba)hubhir=[vva]sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phala[ṁ] | [|[5] ||*] Yān=iha

23 dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānti-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta | [| 6||*] Asma-

24 t-kula-k[r*]amam=udāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdanīyaṁ Laksh[m*]yās=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda(budbuda)-chaṁchalāyā dānaṁ phalaṁ para-sha(ya)śaḥ-

25 paripālanaṁ cha | [|7||*] Sarvvān=ēta(tān)=hā(bhā)vinaḥ pārthivēṁdrān=nṛipō nūyō[6] yāchatē Sa(Rā)mabhadraḥ | śā(sā)māny=ōyaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-

26 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | [|8||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vind[u*]-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchitra(ntya) manushya-jīvitaṁ cha || [7]

27 sakalam=idam=udāh[ṛi]ta sa vudha[8] na hi purumai(shaiḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti || [9||*] **Saṁvat 1167**

28 **Māgha-(ś)udi 12** [|*] **Dū°** || **Ṭhak[k*]ura-śrī-Kēśavaḥ** || Maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || cha śrīḥ ||

29 **Svahastō-yaṁ mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmmadēvasya** ||

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ Hail ! (*May there be*) prosperity, victory and success. Let that Vyōmakēśa (Śiva), who, for the sake of the creation, holds on his head the crescent of the moon which has a form like the shoot from the seed of the Universe, be victorious (1). May the matted hair of the Enemy of the god of love (*i.e.*, Śiva) which is reddish like the fierce circles of lightning at the time

[1] [I would read *sva-bhuktō(ktau) kalpitatvād=dāpita[ṁ*] bhū-hala-daśaka[ṁ*] tidıā(| Tathā)*.—N. P. C.]

[2] [I would read *pū[r*]vva-kalp[i]tatvāt*.—N. P. C.]

[3] [The reading appears to be *°nū(U)dagapra(ya)na-parvvaṇi Kasyi(lpi)tatva(tvā)t*.—N. P. C.]

[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[5] Read *asmad-vaṁśajair=*.

[6] Read *bhūyō bhūyō*.

[7] Only one *daṇḍa* is required.

[8] Read *vdāhṛitañ-cha buddhvā*.

of the end of the world, grant you prosperity incessantly (2).' The *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* the illustrious **Naravarmadēva,** who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious **Udayādityadēva,** who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, being in good health, informs the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others, Paṭṭakilas and inhabitants of towns, assembled in the village of **Kadambapadraka** which is being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka śrī*-Rājadēva (*and which is situated*) in the *pratijāgaraṇaka* of **Mandāraka of the Upēndrapura-*maṇḍala*.** Let it be known to you that while residing at Dhārā, having bathed and worshipped Bhagavān (*Śiva*) the ruler of the world and the lord of Bhavānī and having perceived the worthlessness of the world—as it is said, " This ownership of the earth is (*as transient*) as clouds moved by the wind, the enjoyment of property is sweet only for the time being, lives (*of men*) are (*as unstable*) as drops of water on the points (*of blades*) of grass, Dharma is the only friend in the journey to the other world (3). Those who, having obtained this fortune which is as unstable as the sharp edge of the moving wheel of the world, do not give it (*to the needy or the deserving*), for them the only result will be great repentance afterwards (4). So, having ascertained the transient nature of the world and having agreed to the result of fate, with great devotion, twenty *nivarttanas* of land, measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas* in length (?) and forty-two in breadth (?) from the above-mentioned village[1] are given by us, to last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the sea, to the Brāhmaṇa **Dvivēda Āśādhara,** son of Dīkshita Dēvaśarman and grandson of Dvivēda Nārāyaṇa, who was an immigrant from Śṛiṅgapura, situated in the Middle-country (*Madhyadēśa*), who belonged to the Kātyāyana-*gōtra* with the three *pravaras* Kātyāyana, Kapila and Viśvāmitra, (*and*) who was a student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. Also[2] twenty plough measures of land were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka*, the illustrious Rājadēva **on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtika, in the year 1154,** from land being enjoyed by him and therefore retailed (? *vaddhāpita*) ; also ten plough measures given by the illustrious Mahādēvī, the daughter-in-law of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka*, the illustrious Rājadēva. So also four plough measures given in a previous *kalpa* ; so also six plough measures given by us on the occasion of the festival of Bhūtaraprana(?) **on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausha, in the year 1159.** Thus, the twenty plough measures of land, in its regular order, with its boundaries, with rights of grass, *yūti* and pasturage, with rights of mining gold, of shares and easements with additional taxes and with all other income is given for the increase of the merit and fame of our own self and of our father and mother, by means of a (*copper*)-plate after a previous libation of water. Having regard to this, all shares, easements, taxes, rights of gold mining, *etc.*, hitherto given by the Paṭṭakilas and the townsmen inhabiting the place, are to be given to him (*the donee*). (Here follow the usual formula and five imprecatory verses.) **The year 1167, the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha.** The **Dūtaka** (*of this grant was*) **Ṭhakkura *śrī*-Kēśava.** My own sign manual " the *Mahārāja*, **the illustrious Naravarmadēva.**"

[1] [The passage may be translated as ' twenty *nivarttanas* of land from the abovementioned village out of the forty-two (*nivarttanas*) measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas*,' etc.—N. P. C.]

[2] [The meaning of the word *kalpita* as used in the text is not certain. This term also occurs in the grants of Bhōjadēva of V.S. 1078 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53) and Yaśōvarmadēva of V.S. 1192 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 349). Possibly it has to be taken in the sense of ' settled ' or ' fixed '. I would translate ll. 14-17 as follows :—

Additional twenty plough measures of land (*were also granted*). Out of these ten *halas* of land were caused to be given in his own *bhukti* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* the illustrious Rājadēva on ....from (*his own*) settlement (?), four *halas* of land (*were given*) by the illustrious Mahādēvī, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* the illustrious Rājadēva, from her previous settlement (?) and six *halas* of land (*are now given*) by us on........on the occasion of the *udagayana-parvan* from (*our*) settlement (?).—N. P. C.]

No. 12.—TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 AND SAKA 1109.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two records are engraved on a stone tablet lying in front of the temple of Īśvara at Beṇachamaṭṭi in the Gajēndragaḍ State which is included in the Ron *taluk* of the Dhārwār district. They are edited here for the first time from the estampages secured by me under the orders of the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1927-28.[1] The first inscription covers an area of 2′ 9½″ by 2′ 3½″, the size of each letter being about ½″ in height. The area occupied by the second inscription is 2′ 3½″ by 6½″ and the size of each letter is roughly ¼″. The latter is the continuation of the former. I am calling them A and B respectively for the sake of convenience. They are in a fairly good state of preservation excepting that some letters of B are lost at the right corner of the lower edge where the stone is broken.

Both the inscriptions are **Kannaḍa** records of the **twelfth century** of the Christian era. In A the long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside coil at the top as in *pāṭhīna* (l. 1), *Chaṁdaladēvī* (l. 19), *etc.* ; the *u*-sign at times has a short downward bend by the side of the letter with which it is connected as, for example, in *Chāvuṇḍa* (l. 10), *sudhā* (l. 11), *etc.* ; the *ai*-sign is represented, in some cases, by a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter concerned with a curve on the left side and, in others, by a cursive upward stroke shooting from the bottom to the right end, as in *Mandara-dhairyyaṁ* (l. 18), *sainyaṁ* (l. 26) ; the letters *m*, *y* and *v* have very often been represented by their special cursive forms as in *baḻiyiṁ* (l. 6), °*y-aḻiyaṁ* (l. 7), and ***dēv-āyatanamumaṁ*** (l. 37) respectively ; the *anusvāra* is written by the side of the letter connected therewith in four places, *i.e.*, in *yenisidaṁ* (l. 19), *kuḷaṁgaḷiṁ* (l. 29), *dēv-āyatanamumaṁ* (l. 37) and *gāṁbhīrya* (l. 42). The **Orthography** is generally free from errors. It may be noted that in A the engraver has filled up the space left at the end of lines 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 35, 38, 41, 46, 49, 51 and 52 by the addition of a superfluous mark resembling the English letter S. In B the consonant ḷa is, in several places, wrongly used for ḻa, as in *pāḷa* (ll. 3, 5 and 6), ***kaḷegaḷoḷu*** (l. 5), *etc.*, and the letter *te* in *Nōhilana teṛadi* (l. 4) is written like *ḷe*.

Excepting the first verse which is in Sanskrit, A is written in Kannaḍa poetry interspersed with prose in ll. 8, 10, 31, 32, 36-38 and 44-54. B is also composed in Kannaḍa poetry with a prose passage in ll. 10-16.

After the usual invocation to Śaṁbhu (*i.e.*, Śiva), A describes the ocean (ll. 2-3), the **Jaṁbū-dvīpa** and the Mēru mountain (ll. 3-4), the Kuṁtala country and its past kings (ll. 4-5) and the reigning sovereign **Kaḷachurya Bijjaṇa** who is stated to have wrested the royal glory from the (Western) Chāḷukyas (ll. 5-7). It then introduces Bijjaṇa's son-in-law **Chāvuṇḍa-nṛipa** of the Sinda family whose pedigree is given in lines 8-29. Further it tells us that, of the seven brothers—namely **Ācharasa, Nāka, Siṁga, Dāsa, Dāvaṇa, Chāvuṇḍa** and **Chāva—Chāvuṇḍa** was a powerful warrior and that to Ācharasa was born **Bammarasa**, a moon to the ocean of the **Sinda family**. His brother was the renowned **Ācharasa (II), son of Siṁha** (or Singa). To him were born **Perma** by queen **Mahadēvī** and **Chāvuṇḍa** (II) by queen **Chaṁdaladēvī**. Of **Chāvuṇḍa** it is recorded that when the **Hoysaḷa king** met him with a huge army, the Sinda prince destroyed its general together with other opponents and captured his elephants in large numbers. Again when the **Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmanṛipa** waged a war against Chāvuṇḍa with a view to conquer him, he met with a crushing defeat and had to flee away for life in the forest. When Chāvuṇḍa was ruling his territory from his capital at **Eraṁbarage** (which is compared in lines 28-31 to the celestial Amarāvatī, Ayōdhyā, Mathurā and Ujjayinī), the **Fifty Families of Telligas** extolled in ll. 32-36 constructed the

[1] Nos. 31 and 32 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection. App. *E. A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1927-28.

temple of **Telligēśvara** in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laving the feet of **Chaṁdramauḷi-vratin** of the Lākuḷa sect, the *āchārya* of Siṁhēśvara-maṭha,[1] on the day specified in ll. 46-47 during the reign of the **Kaḷachurya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadēva** (ll. 44-45). Lines 38-44 give the genealogy of the Āchārya Chaṁdramauḷi-vratin as follows :—**Vigrahēśvara-vratin**, his disciple Yogēśvara-yati and his disciple Chaṁdramauḷi-yati.

Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god **Telligēśvara**, mentioned above, **Vīra-Bijjaḷa** and **Vīra-Vikrama** as sons of **Chāvuṇḍa** by **Sridēvī** and describes the elder of the two, namely Vīra-Bijjaḷa, as a great devotee of Śiva like Naṁbi[2] and Ōhila[3] and a scholar like Bāṇa (ll. 1-4). His wife was **Tripurādēvī** (l. 5). His brother **Vikrama** was a munificent donor and an invincible warrior looking majestic as if he was a *Chakravartin* (ll. 6-9). In lines 10-12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Sāhasōttuṁga, etc.*, as ruling over **Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Keḷavaḍi-300, Nareyaṁgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-3[0]**. At the request of the Fifty Telligas and a certain **Muṁjaya-Sāhaṇi** they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of **Telligēśvara** (ll. 13-16) on the date specified in lines 12 and 13.

The details of the date given in A are :—**Śaka 1088, Vyaya, Pushya amāvāsyā, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti** and **vyatīpāta.** They are not quite regular. The Pushya amāvāsyā ended on Sunday at ·95 and the Makara (Uttarāyaṇa)-saṁkrāṁti had occurred on Mārgaśīrsha ba. 30, Saturday (24th December). The date intended probably was **Monday, 23rd January, A.D. 1167** which was a day of Kuṁbha-saṁkrāṁti in Uttarāyaṇa.

The details of the date given in inscription B are :—**Śaka 1109**, the cyclic year **Plavaṁga, ... chaturdaśī, Monday, Saṁkrāṁti.** According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, chaturdaśī combined with a saṁkrāṁti did not fall on Monday in any of the months of Plavaṁga. But, for Chaitra śu. 14 which was a day of Mēsha-saṁkramaṇa, the details would be correct except for the week day which was a Tuesday. The nearest equivalent would, therefore, be **24th March, A.D. 1187.**

The two inscriptions under publication are important inasmuch as they furnish in unambiguous phraseology the **genealogy of the Sinda princes of Eraṁbarage** from **Āchugi I** down to Vīra-Bijjaṇa and Vīra-Vikramāditya, sons of Chāvuṇḍa II. Inscription A reveals for the first time that **Perma** and **Chāvuṇḍa** were the sons of Ācharasa II from different mothers, *viz.*, **Mahādēvī** and **Chaṁdaladēvī** respectively and thus supplements the information contained in the Ron record[4] of A.D. 1180, where they are represented apparently as full brothers. The genealogy given in A is in perfect agreement with the one gathered from the published records[5] of the family, although an ambiguous verse in the Paṭṭadakal inscription[6] " *ātana tammaṁ Siṁga-mahī-taḷa-patiy=ātan=ātmajātaṁ bhuvana-khyātaṁ............negaḷd=Ācharasaṁ* " had led Fleet[7] to introduce another Siṁgi (II) and make him the father of Āchugi (II). Dr. Barnett

[1] This *maṭha* was, apparently, named after Siṁha, a brother of Āchugi I.

[2] Naṁbi probably refers to Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār who was known as Naṁbi-Ārūrar. See Tamiḷ Lexicon *S. V.*

[3] Ōhila was a great devotee of the god Sōmanātha in Saurāshṭra. The story of his guileless devotion is narrated in the 43rd and 44th chapters of the *Basava-Purāṇaṁ* of Bhīmakavi.

[4] Above Vol. XIX, p. 227.

[5] So far, only eight records of the Erambarage branch of the Sinda princes are critically edited : *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 224-30 ; 239-42 ; 247-49 ; 253-55 ; 259-66 ; 274-75 (re-edited in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 96) and above Vols. XV, p. 109 and XIX, p. 227.

[6] *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 257.

[7] *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Dist icts*, p. 573. Subsequently the mistake was rectified by him in a footnote on p. 266 of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX.

who has written an excellent note on the Sinda chiefs in this journal[1], evidently followed Fleet in this respect; but, while editing the Sūḍi inscription of the Kaḷachurya king Saṁkamadēva, he felt the incongruity of this interpretation and remarked "it seems to confuse Āchugi's brother Siṅgi I with the former's son Siṅghi II."[2] Since the Ron record edited by the same scholar states clearly that Ācharasa II was the son of Siṅga, a brother of Āchugi I, he has recognised this difference as being only a variant version of the pedigree recorded in the Sūḍi inscription mentioned above. But it may be remarked that all the epigraphs, if understood properly with the aid of A, yield the same genealogy. The verse in praise of Āchugi II in A runs as follows :—

> ātan=anujātan=avani-khyātaṁ śrī-Siṁha-jā-
> tan=ūddhata-ripu-saṁghāta-hati-niratan=
> enisidan=ātata-tējaṁ pratāpadiṁd=Ācharasaṁ (ll. 13-14)

meaning that his (*i.e.*, Bammarasa's) brother was the powerful Ācharasa who was the son of Siṁha. This statement is fully borne out by the relevant portion in the Sūḍi inscription, *viz.*,[3] *vistarisidud=alli Siṁgarasan=ātmajan=Āchugimaṇḍalēśvaraṁ* (l. 24), *i.e.*, among them (*alli*) Siṁgarasa's son was Āchugimaṇḍalēśvara. As Ācharasa II is thus described in unmistakable terms to be the son of Siṁha without introducing any prince of the latter name before, excepting Āchugi (I)'s brother Siṅga, there is no other alternative but to suppose that he was the son of this Siṁga and consequently a cousin of Bammarasa I. The expression '*ātana tammaṁ*' must, therefore, be taken to mean his brother, *i.e.*, the brother of Āchugi I.

We know from inscriptions at Arasibīḍi[4] and Kaṭgēri[5] that Chāvuṇḍa had married three queens, namely, **Dēmaladēvī, Lakshmādēvī** and **Siriyādēvī**, of whom the last two were the daughters of the Kaḷachurya King Bijjala. He begot on Dēmaladēvī, **Āchugi III** and **Permāḍi III** and on Siriyādēvī, **Vīra-Vijjaṇa** and **Vīra-Vikrama**, the donors of inscription B. Vīra-Vijjaṇa's queen was **Tripurādēvī**. The portion containing the name of Vikrama's wife is unfortunately broken off.

The **Sinda chiefs** who played an important part in the **mediaeval history of Karṇāṭaka** began their political career as feudatories of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi during the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. The first prince of the family was **Āchugi I** who is described in the Sūḍi and Niḍgundi[6] inscriptions with the significant epithet "*ādimaṇḍaḷika,*" thereby indicating that with him came into being the rule of the Sinda princes of Eraṁbarage. From the fact that he is extolled as *Vikramādityana kaṭṭid=alagu*[7] (a sharpened sword-edge of Vikramāditya VI) and that his son Bammarasa was, according to an epigraph at Savaḍi,[8] ruling Kisukāḍu and other provinces in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year 7 (A. D. 1083), the origin of the family as a ruling power may be placed in or about A. D. 1076, the year of Vikramāditya's accession to the throne. It is therefore not possible that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siṅgaṇṇadēva of a Niḍgundi inscription[9] who was governing Kisukāḍu-70 in A. D. 1076 under Bhuvanaikamalladēva, could be identical with the Sinda prince Siṁga I as originally suggested by Fleet[10] and still accepted by Dr. Barnett in his note referred to above. There is no evidence to show that Āchugi's brother Siṁga ruled at all whereas it can be definitely inferred from

[1] Above Vol. XIV, pp. 268ff.
[2] Above Vol. XV, pp. 109.
[3] The expression *vistarisidudalli* has been taken as one word and translated "In dwelling upon the excellence etc." See *ibid*, p. 112. But it has to be split up into two words as *vistarisidudu* and *alli*.
[4] No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29.
[5] No. 151 of the same collection.
[6] No. 205 of the same collection for 1926-27.
[7] No. 35 of the same collection for 1927-28 and the Sūḍi inscription mentioned above.
[8] No. 2 of the same collection for 1927-28.
[9] *Ibid* No. 202 for 1927-28.
[10] *Dyn. Kan. Dist*, p. 574. But he has doubted this identification in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 206.

inscription A that Bammarasa, the son and successor of Āchugi I was succeeded by Āchugi II, the son of Siṁha to whom there is only a passing reference.[1] Bammarasa had, according to the Paṭṭadakal record, won the favour of the reigning sovereign, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and received from him a position of honour and rank in the State. His territory comprised Kisukāḍu-70 and Narayaṁgal-12.[2] He appears to have died without issue as, otherwise, the Sinda throne would not have passed to the descendants of his uncle Siṁga. From an inscription at Arasibīdi[3] which states that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* [Ava]rarasa was administering under Vikramāditya VI, Kisukāḍu-70 and Karividi-30 in A.D. 1087, it may be surmised that at the time of Bammarasa's death, Āchugi II was either a minor or not powerful enough to assert the rights of his family. Subsequently, however, he appears to have acquired possession of his hereditary provinces through the favour of Vikramāditya, which, thereafter, continued in his line till the end. Only three dates[4], *viz.*, 1113-14, 1121-22 and 1125-26 are known for Āchugi II who defeated, for his master Vikramāditya VI, the Pāṇḍya, Hoysaḷa and other rebels. Thus it may be stated that the three chiefs from Āchugi I to Āchugi II were the feudatories of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI and took a prominent part in the conquests of their overlord.

After Āchugi II, the two brothers Permāḍi[5] and Chāvuṇḍa II held the Sinda territory as subordinates of Perma-Jagadēkamalla and Trailōkyamalla Taila III, respectively. It was during the latter's reign that the Chāḷukya dominions were usurped by Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa who is described in A as having dragged by force the lady of the Chāḷukya sovereignty. Permāḍi is stated in his inscriptions to have vanquished Kulaśēkhara, besieged and decapitated Chaṭṭa pursued Jayakēśi and seized the royal power of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvarddhana.[6] The Ron inscription adds that he "captured the Hoysaḷa king's elephants as well as his treasure-waggons." In the present record (A), however, the defeat of the Hoysaḷa king's army and the capture of his elephants are attributed to Chāvuṇḍa II for whom we have several dates ranging from A. D. 1151[7] to 1169-70. Besides, he is credited with having put to flight a certain **Pāṇḍya chieftain** named **Kāmadēva.** These events must be different from those noticed above[8]. For, it is natural that the Hoysaḷa prince should again have risen in vengeance against the declining power of the Chāḷukyas and tried to assert independence and that the Sindas, as faithful servants of the Chāḷukyas, should have checked his aggression on the battle-field. And Kāmadēva, evidently Kāmadēva of Uchchangi, otherwise known as **Vijayapāṇḍyadēva,** who succeeded his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya sometime after A.D. 1148[9] and lived on up to at least A.D. 1189[10], was for a longer period a contemporary of Chāvuṇḍa II than of his elder brother Permāḍi. It is worth noticing that Chāvuṇḍa, who had abstained from acknowledging the Kaḷachurya suzerainty in his earlier records dated before A. D. 1163,[11]

[1] Not a single known inscription has described Siṁha independently except as the father of Ācharasa II. This would suggest that he never enjoyed any power.

[2] Savaḍi inscription referred to above.

[3] No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29.

[4] *Ibid* No. 219 for 1926-27, *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 247 and No. 218 of the B. K. collection for 1926-27.

[5] An inscription at Kōḍikop bearing an impossible date in Śaka 872 introduces this prince as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. Since we know that his father Āchugi was living in A. D. 1125-26, the last year of Vikramāditya, it may be presumed that he ruled conjointly with his father or his father must have died in that year so that Permāḍi, who succeeded him, could become Vikramāditya's feudal chief.

[6] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 575.

[7] No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29.

[8] These exploits of Chāvuṇḍa do not find mention in other records of himself or of his sons. Excepting the defeat of Kāmadēva which is nowhere ascribed to Permāḍi, the rest might as well be supposed to have been achieved by Chāvuṇḍa in conjunction with his elder brother as the latter is known to have accomplished similar acts.

[9] *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 151.

[10] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 466.

[11] No. 147 of the B. K. collection for 1928-29. See also *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 462.

though it was well established by then, had begun to recognise it by A. D. 1167, as is evident from the preamble to the grant portion of inscription A. It appears that he was holding the reins of government in conjunction with his sons Āchugi and Permāḍi in A. D. 1163 when the Paṭṭadakal inscription was engraved. It is not known under what circumstances the Sinda chiefdom passed to the sons of Siriyādēvī after the death of Chāvuṇḍa II.

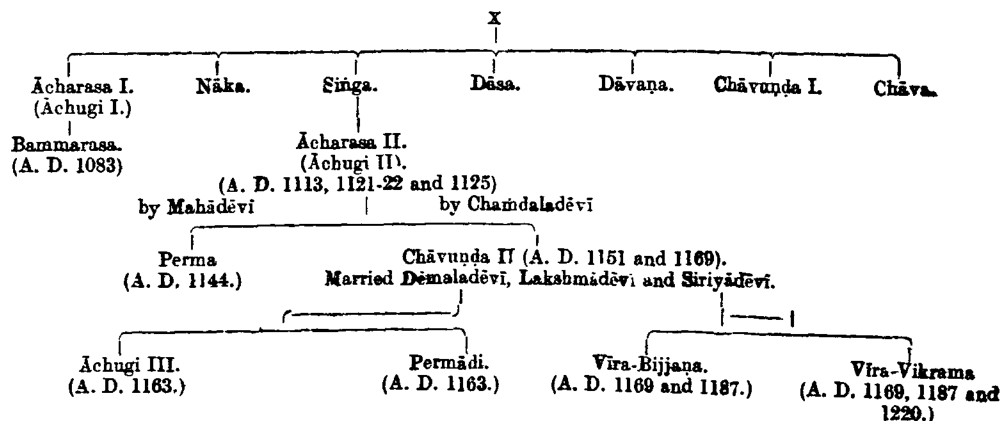
Chāvuṇḍa's rule must have ended in A. D. 1169-70, for we find his sons Vīra-Bijjaṇa and Vīra-Vikrama ruling over Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, and Keḷavaḍi-300 in A. D. 1170 as recorded in the Aihoḷe inscription[1] dated in Virōdhin, corresponding to the 94th year of the Chāḷukya Vikrama era, whereas an epigraph from Hirēmaṇṇūr[2] bearing the date Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169) introduces Chāvuṇḍa as a donor of some gift. Further the Harti inscription[3] of Vīra-Bijjaṇa dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his 7th year fixes the date of his accession sometime in Virōdhin. Vīra-Bijjaṇa and Vīra-Vikrama appear to have **ruled conjointly** as is shown by the preamble to inscription B which states that both the princes were ruling together from their capital at Eraṁbarage. This is corroborated by other inscriptions also.[4] There are, however, a few epigraphs[5] which were issued by the two brothers independently of each other. But this does not vitiate the above conclusion inasmuch as joint rulers could make donations separately as well. There are reasons to hold that the **two princes** were **very young** when they were **invested with power.** Two inscriptions at Niḍgundi[6] with dates in Śaka 1094 (A. D. 1172) and Śaka 1096 (A. D. 1174) style them as *kumāras* and introduce *paṭṭamahādēvī* Siriyādēvī as making some gifts in conjunction with her two children. This seems to indicate that their mother Siriyādēvī was actually governing the Sinda territory as **regent** during their minority.[7] That they were children then, as said above, is rendered quite probable by a record[8] of A. D. 1220 in which year Vikramāditya was still holding the Sinda dominions under the Yādava Siṁgaṇadēva, after a rule of not less than fifty years.

It is significant to note that inscription B **does not mention any overlord** but proceeds to describe the two brothers straightaway as if they were independent rulers. After the Kaḷachurya usurpation which lasted for twenty years, the Sindas retransferred their allegiance to the Chāḷukyas under Sōmēśvara IV, who revived his ancestral sovereignty in A. D. 1183. Sometime after this date, the Chāḷukya territory appears to have again become a prey to the constant attacks of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri on the north and the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra on the south. During this period of turmoil, the **Sinda princes** must have **declared independence.** This is indicated by the expression "*Chakravarti-padavī-patiy=inn=ītan=enal=esevan=urvvī-khyāta-yaśaṁ Vīra-Vikramāvanipāḷaṁ*" in inscription B which means that the powerful Vikrama was then the fit person to bear the title of *Chakravartin.* But this independence did not continue long, for we find from the Aṁṇigere and Gadag inscriptions of Yādava Bhillamadēva, dated respectively in A. D. 1189 and 1191, that the Yādava king held the country south of the Malaprabhā and Krishṇā as well as the northern provinces,[8] thus precluding the possibility of the Sindas remaining free and unassailed. Since Jaitugi counts his reign from the latter date, **Bhillama** must have died in that year probably in an encounter with Vīra-Ballāḷa. This is proved by the existence of Vīra-Ballāḷa's record at Gadag

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 274. It was re-edited more correctly in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 96.
[2] No. 4 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.
[3] No. 57 of 1926-27 of the same collection.
[4] *Ibid*, No. 221 of 1926-27.
[5] Ron and Harti inscriptions mentioned above.
[6] Nos. 208 and 205 of 1926-27 of the Bombay Karnatak collection.
[7] *Ibid*, No. 35 of 1927-28.
[8] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

itself dated in A. D. 1192 and by the statements contained in his Aṇṇigere inscription[1] of A. D. 1202 representing Bhillama as having been killed in the fight. The Harihar inscription of his son Narasiṁha II adds to his father's conquests the capture of all the strongholds between Soraṭūr, Eraṁbarage, Kurugōḍ, Gutti, Beḷḷiṭṭage, etc.[2] From this it is evident that Vīra-Ballāḷa had successfully wrested from the Yādava king some portion of the territory which the latter had taken from Sōmēśvara IV, subjugated the Sindas of Eraṁbarage and made them pay homage to his banner. The Yādavas, however, were not keeping quiet all this while. They were biding time to reclaim the lost country. Jaitugi's son Siṁgaṇadēva who carried his conquests far and wide led an expedition against the Hoysaḷas during the last days of Vīra-Ballāḷa and snatched back from him the portion of land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā and even extended his arms farther south as is proved by his inscription at Baḷagāṁve[3] in Mysore, dated in A. D. 1215. This event must have taken place in or about A. D. 1210 for, an epigraph at Dōṇi[4] states that the sixteenth year of Singaṇadēva's entry into that tract corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya (A. D. 1226). This statement proves that the Yādavas were once again in possession of the territory under contest which must have included Kisukāḍu-70 of the Sindas. That the Sinda chiefs became their subordinates and continued to acknowledge their suzerainty till the end is clear from a stone record at Kaḷakappanaguḍḍa[5] in which the Sinda Vikramāditya figures as a feudatory of Siṁgaṇṇadēva in the latter's 21st regnal year falling in Vikrama, *i.e.*, A. D. 1220. Nine years later, we find Mahāpradhāna Vāsudēva-Nāyaka ruling under the orders of Siṁhaṇa, Eraṁbarage "which had caused itself to be called the capital of Kisukāḍu-70" [6]. Presumably the Sinda prince Vikrama had passed away between A.D. 1220 and 1229 and his territory was then annexed to the Yādava kingdom, thus ending the rule of the Sinda chiefs after a glorious career of about 150 years.

From the facts set forth in the foregoing pages, a revised genealogy of the Sinda princes with dates is reconstructed below for the sake of ready reference.



[1] No. 193 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29. Among the descriptive epithets applied to Vīra-Ballāḷa in this record occurs the expression "*Bhillama-bala-jaladhi-baḍavānaḷam*".

[2] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

[3] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 505.

[4] No. 79 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak collection. See also *A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 141.

[5] No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.

[6] No. 200 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

The following places and subdivisions are mentioned in the two records :—the celestial Amarāvatī, Āyōdhye, Madhure, Ujjayinī, **Eraṁbarāpuraṁ, Kallūru, Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Keḷavaḍi-300, Nareyaṁgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-30.** Of these **Kallūru** is the modern village of that name near Mushīgēri in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwār district. On **Kisukāḍu-70** and **Kariviḍi-30** see Fleet's exhaustive note in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 259 ff. **Bāgaḍage-70** comprised a portion of the modern **Bāgalkot** taluk in the Bijāpur district with **Bāgaḍage,** *i.e.*, **Bāgalkot** as its chief town. **Keḷavaḍi-300** derived its name from its chief place Keḷavaḍi which is at present a small village in the Bādāmi taluk of the Bijāpur district. **Nareyaṁgal-12** was a small circle of villages with its headquarters at **Nareyaṁgal,** *i.e.*, the modern **Naregal** in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwār district. The remaining places are too well known to require any remarks.

TEXT.

A

1 Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē | trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūḷa-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē || [1||*] Vṛi || Viluṭhat-pāṭhīna-puchchha- sphurita-

2 gurutar - āsphālana - sphāra-kōḷāhaḷa-niryyad-dhairyya-nakra-krama-kashaṇa-nishaṁṇ - ōru-nīrēbha-bhīkṛich-chaḷa-hast-āghāta-masta-

3 prakaṭhiṇa-kamaṭha-bhrāṁti-nirmmukta-mukt-āviḷa-vīchī-saṁchayaṁ kaṇg=esedudu bahaḷa-dhvāna-raudraṁ samudraṁ || [2||*] Tad-vārddhi-chāru-pa-(S)

4 rikhā-sadvaḷayitam=enisi nāḍe sogayisuvudu Jaṁbūdvīpa-v=alli chāru-kubhṛid-varan=ene nāḍe Mēru-giri raṁjisuguṁ || [3||*] Ā Kanak-ādri-

5 ya teṁkal=Bhū-kāṁtā-kuntaḷ-ōpamaṁ Kuntaḷav=aṁt=ā kāṁta-vishaya-rakshakar=ī Kaliyugadalli puṭṭidar=**Chāḷukyar** || [4||*] Ā Chāḷukya-mahī-

6 śariṁde baḷiyiṁ durvṛittaraṁ geldu dhātrī-chakraṁ neṟe baṁṇnisal-bhuja-baḷ-āvashṭaṁbhadiṁ Kuṁtal-ōrvvī-chaṁchach-chatur-āṁganā-kacha-samākarshā(S)-

7 grahaṁ **Bijjaṇa-śrī-chakrēśvaran**=opputirppan=adaṭaṁ vidvishṭa-viddrāvaṇaṁ || [5||*] Tach-chakravarttiy=aḷiyam sach-charitaṁ viśada-kīrtti **Chāvuṁḍa-nṛipaṁ** nichchaṭa-

8 gali Kali-kāla-viyach-charan=ene pesarin=esevan=ī vasumatiyoḷ || [6||*] Ā mahānubhāvan=anvay-āvatārav=eṁt=eṁdaḍe Āchu-

9 gi-bhūmi-pāḷana sah-ōdarar=apratima-pratāpa-bhūp-āchaḷa-vajra-daṁḍar=ene Nāka-nṛipaṁ nṛipa-tuṁga Siṁgan=ātm-ōchita-vikra-

10 maṁ negaḷda Dāsarasaṁ kali Dāvaṇam jaya-śrī-chatura-priyaṁ vibhu **Chavuṇḍarasaṁ** guṇi Chāva-bhūbhujaṁ || [7||*] Avaroḷage || Ahit-ōdyad(S)-

11 baḷa-jāḷakaṁ kadanadoḷ=māṟāntu tāgal=mahā-mahimaṁ sūlige-goṇḍu kōpad-odaviṁ koṁd=ikki vidvishṭaraṁ mahiyoḷ=tāḷdi sudh-āṁ-

12 śu-nirmmaḷa-yaśaḥ-śrī-kāṁtiyaṁ saṁtataṁ mahanīyaṁ kali **Chauṁḍa-bhūpan**=esevaṁ **śrī-Siṁda-vaṁś-ōdbhavaṁ** || [8||*] Ka || Avaroḷag=Āchara-saṁg=u (S)-

13 dbhavisidan=adhika-pratāpa-nidhi jaya-lakshmī-pravaṇaṁ **Baṁmarasaṁ** kīrtti-viḷāsaṁ Siṁda-vārddhi-varddhana-chaṁdraṁ || [9||*] Ātan=anujātan=avani-khyātaṁ(S)

14 śrī-**Siṁha-jātan**=uddhata-ripu-saṁghāta-hati-niratan=enisidan=aṭaṭa-tējam pra-tāpadiṁd=**Ācharasaṁ** || [10||*] Ant=enisid=Ācha-bhūpana kāṁte

15 dayā-vaṁte, bhāgya-vaṁte nitāṁtaṁ śānte naya-vaṁte sat-kuḷa-vaṁte **Mahādēviy**=eṁba pesariṁd=esevaḷ || [11||*] Vṛi || Ācha-mahībhujaṁgav=esev=ā

16 **Mahadēvigav**=udgha-vikramaṁ khē-chara-kīrtti saṁbhavisidaṁ kali **Permma**-mahīdharaṁ manōjñ-ācharaṇaṁ raṇ-ōddhata-viruddha-nṛipāḷaka-jāḷa-bā-
17 ḷikā-lōchana-nirggaḷad-vimala-lōḷa-jal-āviḷa-saṁgar-āṁgaṇam || [12||*] Ā Permma-bhūpan=anujaṁ rūpa-Manōjaṁ manōjña-guṇa-gaṇa-yu-
18 ktaṁ vēpita-ripu-nṛipa-hṛiday-āḷāpaṁ **Chāvuṁḍa**-maṇḍaḷ-ēśaṁ negaḷdaṁ || [13||*] Mandara-dhairyyaṁ ripu-nṛipa-bṛiṁda-śiraḥ-kaṁduk-āḷi-kēḷī-ka-
19 ḷitaṁ **Chaṁḍaladēvī-sutan**=amaḷ-ēṁd-ūjvaḷa-kīrttiy=enisidaṁ Chāvuṁḍaṁ || [14||*] Munis=ābhīḷa-nṛipāḷa-mēgha-paṭaḷa-prōtsāra-jhaṁ-
20 jhāniḷaṁ vanadhi-prāvṛita-kīrtti sāṁdra-vikirat-kāḷēya-pāp-āndhakāra-nirās-ōjvaḷa chaṁdra-dīdhiti lasad-dānaṁ budha-brāta(S)-
21 dausthya-nag-ōdbhēdana-vajrav=āgal=esevaṁ Chāvuṁḍa-**bhūpāḷakaṁ** || [15||*] Samar-ōdyad-baḷa-**Hoysaḷa-kshitipa**-sēn-ānīkam=oṁd-āgi
22 vikramadiṁ tāge parākrama-krama-yutaṁ Siṁd-ānvay-āṁbhōdhi-chaṁdraman=ērvvaṭṭi tad-īśanaṁ maledaraṁ koṁd=ugra-matta-ē-
23 bha-saṁghaman=ādaṁ piḍidaṁ pratāpa-tapanaṁ **Chāvuṁḍa-bhūpāḷakaṁ** || [16||*] Vṛi || Bhīrugaḷaṁ śaraṇ-buguvaraṁ bhayad=uṭṭudan=ikki nil*u*-
24 varaṁ vāruvadiṁd=iḷā-taḷake vapparan=āṁt=iṟiyalke pēsi sad-vīraran=eyde koṁd=eseva mīsegaḷiṁ huri-goṁḍa gaṁḍa peṁḍāra-
25 man=āḷda Siṁda-kuḷa-maṁḍananoḷ paḍiy=appa gaṁḍar=ār || [17||*] Nija-chāturbbaḷa-garbbadiṁ bhuja-baḷa-prakshōbhadiṁ **Pāṁḍyan**=āji-jay-ā-
26 kāṁksheyin=eyde vaṁdu kaḍupiṁdaṁ tā[ge] **Chāvuṁḍa**-bhūbhujan=ek-āṁgade gelda sainyaman=adaṁ kaṁḍ=uṭṭudaṁ biṭṭu nirvvijayaṁ
27 **Kāma-nṛipāḷan**=ōḍidan=avaṁ beṁgoṭṭu kāḷ-vaṭṭeyiṁ || [18||*] Vaṁdita[v=I]ṁdraniṁdav=Amarāvatī Rāghavaniṁd=Ayōdhye
28 Gōviṁdanin=ujvaḷan-Madhure Guttanin=Ujjayanī-puraṁ Maruṁ-naṁdananiṁde Hastinapuraṁ neṟe raṁjisuv-ante saṁtataṁ **Siṁda-Chavuṁḍa-**
29 **bhūbhujanin**=oppaman=āḷdud=**Eraṁbarāpuraṁ** || [19||] Dēvakuḷaṁgaḷiṁ [va vadhū]kuḷa-harmmya-śataṁgaḷiṁ mahīdēva-gṛihaṁgaḷiṁ Dhana-
30 pati-prabha-vaiśya-kadaṁba-gēhadiṁ pāvanavat-tapō-vana-tapō-dhana-śālegaḷiṁde kaṇge-vaṁd=ī vasudh-āgradoḷ sale virājisut-irppu-
31 d=Eraṁbarāpuraṁ || [20||*] Alli || **Telligar**=ayvatt=okkal=sal-lalita-guṇ-āḍhyar=Abhava-pada-yuga-vimal-ōtphulla-sarasī(i)-ja-shaṭ-padar=ullasi-
32 ta-sit-ābhra-kīrtti-vallabhar=enipar || [21||*] Mattaṁ || Vṛi || Śaraṇ-āyāt-ādri-rakshā-kshama-saradhigaḷ=uddaṁḍa-vidvishṭa-dushṭ-ōtkara-
33 kāṁtāra-pradāha-prabaḷatara-mah-ōgr-ānaḷar=Śaṁbhu-śuṁbhach-charaṇ-āṁbhōjāta-guṁjat-su-ruchiratara-rōḷaṁba-
34 reṁd=eṁdu bhāsvad-dharey=aivatt=okkalaṁ takkaran=atiśayadiṁ kīrttikuṁ mechchi nichchaṁ || [22||*] Sujana-stutyar=ssu(su)-satya-bratar=aparimit-āchāra-sad-dharmma-
35 varmmar=ṇn(ṇṇ)ija-kāṁt-ānaṁta-mōda-pramudita-vimaḷa-svāṁtar=ātmīya-dēva-dvija-pād-āṁbhōja-pūjā-niratar=enute kay-vā(S)-
36 radiṁ kūḍe baṁdhu-brajav=aivatt=okkalaṁ baṁṇipud=avani-taḷam mechche-ānaṁdadiṁdaṁ || [23||*] Va || Aṁtu pogaḷte-vaḍed=aivatt=okkalgaḷ=āka stha-
37 r=āg=irdd=**Eraṁbarāpurad=Īśāna-dig-vibhāgadoḷ Telligēśvara-dēvara** pratishṭheyaṁ tad-dēv-āyatanamumaṁ māḍisidar=ā sthānad=ā-

38 chāryyar=appa **Chaṁdramauḷidēvara** gurukuḷ-ānvayav=eṁt=eṁdaḍe || Maṁneya-vaḷiyoḷ=ati-stutan=uṁnata-yaśa(S)-

39 n=āśrit-āśrayaṁ kali-kāl-ōtpaṁna-Lakuḷīśan=enipaṁ saṁnuta-mati **Vigrahēśvara**-brati-tiḷakaṁ || [24||*] Tat-pāda-kamaḷa-sēvā-tatpa-

40 ran=anavadya-charitan=Aṁgaja-kudhar-ō(r)dyat-pavi **Yōgēśvarayati** sat-puṁṇyaṁ Lākuḷ-āgam-āṁbuja-mitraṁ || [25||*] Ā munimukhyana

41 śishyaṁ bhū-mahitaṁ naishṭhik-āgra-gaṇyaṁ vibudha-stōma-sura-bhūjan=Aṁgaja-sāmaja-gaja-vairi **Chaṁdramauḷi-yatīṁdraṁ** || (S) [26||*]

42 Nija-dān-ōṁnati kalpa-bhūja-tatiyaṁ mūla-bratam stutya-Vāyu-janaṁ sat-yav=aniṁdya-Satyatapanaṁ gāṁbhīryyav=aṁbhōdhiyaṁ tri(tri)-jagad-byā-

43 pta-yasaṁ śaś-āṁka-ruchiyaṁ kīḷ-māḍe rārājipaṁ vijit-ōdyat-Kali **Chaṁdramauḷi-yatipaṁ** vidvaj-jan-aik-āśrayaṁ || [27||*]

44 Vachana || Svasti [||*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahārāj-ādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ **Kaḷachuriya-kula-**

45 **kamaḷa-mārttaṁḍaṁ** kadana-prachaṁḍaṁ nām-ādi-samasta-praśasti-sahitaṁ śrī-mat-**Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadēvara** vijaya-rājyam=u-

46 ttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ārkka-tāraṁ saluttam=ire [||*] **S(ś)aka-varsha 1088**-neya **Byaya-saṁvatsarada Pushyad-amāvāsye** (S)

47 **Sōmavārav=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti byatīpātad**=aṁdu śrī-mat-**Telligēśvaradēvargge Telligar-ayvatt-okkalgaḷ**=ēka-stharāgi Siṁhēśva-

48 **rada** maṭhad=āchāryyar=appa **Chaṁdramauḷidēvara** kālaṁ karchchi dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍi biṭṭ=āyav=eṁt=eṁdaḍe [|*] Daṁḍin=okkaluṁ taḷad=o-

49 kkaluṁ devasav=aḷav=eṁṇe gāṇadalli soḷasav=eraḍu dēva-gāṇad=okkalalli devasav=aḷav=eṁṇe soḷasav=oṁdu chaitra-pavitraṁga(S)-

50 ḷoḷu gāṇadalli vīsav=aidu gāṇaṁ meṭṭuvaralli vīsav=aidu maṭhakke baṁd=abhyāgataralli naḍava manushyar=āhāra-dānakke tiṁgaḷiṁg=okka-

51 lgaḷoḷ joḷa kolagav=oṁdu Kallūra baṭṭeyiṁ paḍuvala......ṇaṁd=iṟuva tōṁṭaṁ mattar=oṁdu Dīpāvaḷiya parvvadalli(S)-

52 y=okkaloḷ=eṁṇe mānav=oṁdu maḷigeyoḷag=ainūrvvar=Svāmigaḷ biṭṭ=āyaṁ hoṁge koṭṭavaralliy=aḍakey=oṁdu koṁḍava(S)-

53 ralliy=aḍakey=oṁdu eṇisida dhoregaḷalli pratyēkav-aḍakey=oṁdu taṁbuligarv=viṭṭ=āyaṁ bhaṁdig=ele nūṟu hē-

54 ṟiṁge nūṟu tale-voreg=aiy(ai)vattu dēvara muṁdaṇ=aṁgaḍiy=eraḍu ||

B.

1 Śrī-vidita-Telligēśvaradēvaṁ manam=osedu kuḍuge rājya-śrī-

2 yaṁ [|*] bhū-vinuta-**Vīra-Bijjaladēvaṁgaṁ Vīra-Vikrama-kshitipaṁgaṁ** [||1||*] Nuta-guṇa-**Chāvuṁḍ-ōrvvī**-patigaṁ **Siridēvigaṁ** kumārar=kkaṁ-[ṇuṁ] [|*] gatiyum=e-

3 ne puṭṭidar=b(h)bhūpati-**Bijjala-Vīra-Vikram-āvanipāḷaru** || [2||*] Avaroḷu piriyaṁ Bhāv-ōdbhava-rūpaṁ Vīra-Bijjaṇ-ōrvvī-nāthaṁ [|*] Śiva pada-paṁkaja-shaṭpadan=akhiḷa-stuta-kī-

4 rtti nīti-s(ś)ara-nidhiy=esedaṁ || [3||*] Naṁbiya teṛadim Śivanaṁ nambida-n=Ōhilana [te]ṛadi nōh-illada bhaktaṁ Bāṇan-aṁte jāṇaṁ kiṁ bahunā **Vīra-Bijjal-āva[ni]**-

5 pāḷaṁ || [4||*] Sal-lalita-kīrtti ripu-hṛit-sellaṁ chaushashṭi-kaḷegaḷoḷu diṭadiṁ tāṁ ballaṁ **Tripurādēviya vallabhan=ī Vīra-Bijjal-**āvani-nāthaṁ || [5||*]........

6 ti-kuḷam **chakravarti-padavī**-[**pati**]**y=irhnn=ītan=enal=**esevan=urvvī-khyāta-yaśaṁ **Vīra-Vikram**-āvani-pāḷaṁ || [6||*] Huliy=eṁdan=aṇasuvaṁ phaṇi-kuḷa-ma............

7 van=oppe māriḍuvaṁ jakkulipaṁ javanaṁ nichchaṭa-gali uḷ sivōvo **Vīra-Vikrama-bhūpaṁ** || [7||*] Vṛ(ṛ)itta || Udit-ātyugra-bhuja-pratāpada poḍarppaṁ [kaṁḍu] siṁga............

8 r=ār=vveḷūkuḷar=ār=ppoḍarpp-uḍugar=ār=ānt=ōḍi bōḍ=āgi pōgadar=ār=aḷukadar=ār=mmanaṁ-giḍadar=ār=ssarvvasvamaṁ tettu bi............

9 s(ś)ruta-Vīra-Vikrama-nṛipa-tyāgakke kaiy-ānar=āru || [8||*] Kanda || Ivaṁ vandige śaraṇ=ene kāvaṁ vibhu Vīra-Vikram-ōrvvī-pāḷam [|*] Śrī-vadhuge pāṭiy=eni..............

10 dēviya manō-bjinī-kaḷa-haṁsaṁ || [9||*] (spiral symbol) Svasti [||*] Samasta-praśasti-sahitaṁ śrī-man(u)-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara sāhasōttuṁga bhuja-baḷa ....

11 **ladēva-Vīra-Vikramadēvarasaruṁ Kisukāḍ=eppattu Bāgaḍagey=eppattu Keḷa[va]ḍi-mūnūṛu Narayaṁgallu-haṁneraḍu Kariviḍi-mū[va]**........

12 nija-rājadhāniy=Eraṁbaragey**o**ḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire [|*] **(Ś)aka-varshada 1109**-neya **Plavaṁga-saṁvatsarada**......

13 **turddas(ś)i Sōmavāra saṁkrānti puṇya-tithiy**-aṁd=aśēsha **aiy(ai)vatt-okkala** bi(ṁ)nnapadiṁ śrīmad-anādi-paṭṭaṇav=**Eraṁbarageya Telli-gēśvaradēvarige**............

14 ppaṭṭēḷu gēṇa gaḷe[yo]ḷu Jagatēśvaradēvara keyiṁ baḍagalu keyi mattaru panneraḍumaṁ **Muṁjaya Sāhaṇiya** bi[nnapadiṁ]

15 ......[pa]ḍuvalu gadde mattar=ondumaṁ sarvvanamasyaṁ sarvva-bādhā-parihāram=āgi dhārā-pūrvvakram=ā[gi] Vīra-**Bijjaladēva Vīra-Vikramadēva**................

16 . . . . .koṭṭaru ||

TRANSLATION.

A

Verse 1. Invocation to Śaṁbhu.

V. 2. The ocean, terrific on account of excessive roar, looks fair to the sight with voluminous billows mixed with pearls that are tossed about by the motion of tortoises with stout heads, by the slashes of fearful trunks moving to and fro of the big water elephants that are seated, and by the rubbings of the feet of crocodiles losing courage at the increasing tumult caused by the blows, rendered heavier by the movements of the tails, of the wallowing *pāṭhīna* fishes.

V. 3. Encircled by the beautiful ditch, the ocean, Jaṁbūdvīpa looks highly charming; in it the Mount Mēru appears very attractive as if he is the best of all beautiful mountains.

V. 4. To the south of that golden mountain is Kuṁtaḷa, resembling the lock of hair of the lady Earth. Of such a charming land the **Chāḷukyas** were born the protectors in the Kali age.

V. 5 After the Chāḷukya kings (*had passed away*), the illustrious emperor **Bijjaṇa** the scarer of enemies, looked majestic seizing the braid of hair of the handsome and clever

lady, the land of Kuṁtala by resorting to strength of arms, after conquering the refractory (*chiefs*) so as to be highly praised by the whole circle of Earth.

V. 6. The son-in-law of the emperor was the well-behaved prince **Chāvuṇḍa** of white fame, a tough warrior, renowned on earth as a Gandharva of the Kali age. As regards the genealogy of that high-souled (*hero*) :

V. 7. King **Āchugi's** brothers, *viz.*, prince **Nāka, Siṁga,** the chief of kings, the famous **Dāsarasa** endowed with valour befitting his rank, the valiant **Dāvaṇa**, king **Chāvuṇḍarasa,** a handsome lover of victory and prosperity and the virtuous prince **Chāva** were (*powerful*) like a thunderbolt to mountains, the kings of uncomparable prowess. Among them

V. 8. the brave king Chauṇḍa, born of the **Sinda family**, ever praiseworthy shines on earth with the splendour of fortune and fame unsullied like the nectar-rayed (*moon*), looting and crushing the foes in furious rage when the confederacy of hostile armies met him in fight.

V. 9. Among them, to Ācharasa was born **Bammarasa**, a moon to increase the ocean, the Sinda (*lin.age*), brilliant with fame, a repository of great prowess and endeared to victory and wealth.

V. 10. His younger brother was **Ācharasa** of exceeding splendour who, born of the illustrious Simha and renowned on earth was, on account of his valour, (*known to be*) ever engaged in killing the hosts of haughty foes.

V. 11. The wife of Ācha-bhūpa, thus described, was known by (lit. shone with) the name **Mahādēvī** and was of noble family, prudent, extremely calm in disposition, kind and possessed of good fortune.

V. 12. To king **Ācha** and the beautiful **Mahādēvī** was born the powerful prince Perma, famed like a Gandharva, exceedingly brave, pleasing in conduct, who rendered the battlefields impure with pure and rolling tears proceeding from the eyes of the young wives (lit· girls) of the collection of enemy kings who rose in battle.

V. 13. The younger brother of that Perma-bhūpa was the renowned chief **Chāvuṇḍa** a Cupid in form, possessed of a number of excellent qualities and who was a woe to the trembl ng hearts of the enemy kings.

V. 14. **Chāvuṇḍa, son of Chaṁdaladēvī,** courageous like Mount Mandara and expert in playing with the rows of balls, the heads of the groups of hostile kings, attained fame glowing like the clear moon.

V. 15. The king **Chāvuṇḍa** was, when exasperated, a storm to disperse the gathering of clouds, the formidable hostile kings, a brilliant ray of the moon to remove the enveloping and dense darkness, the sins of the Kali age, with fame encompassing the oceans. (*A bestower*) of magnificent gifts he shone like a bolt to tear asunder the mountains, the vanities of groups of scholars.

V. 16. When the army of the **Hoysaḷa** king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, prince **Chāvuṇḍa,** the moon in the ocean of the Sinda family stepping forth valiantly (lit. with valorous steps) rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general and other opponents and, further, captured groups of fierce and intoxicated elephants.

V. 17. What hero, indeed, would equal the ornament of the Sinda family who was the master of valiant marauders that stimulated themselves by twisting their moustaches after destroying completely brave warriors, feeling disgusted to fight and kill those that were timid, those that sought his protection, those that cast away their garment through fear and stood (*helpless*) and those that got down on earth from horse (*back*) ?

V. 18. Puffed up at (*the strength of*) his fourfold army and itching with the might of his arms the **Pāṇḍya chieftain** started immediately and met king **Chāvuṇḍa** with force to conquer him

(*Chāvuṇḍa*) conquered (*his*) army single-handed. Seeing it king **Kāma** threw off his garment and losing (*hopes of*) victory fled by the forest track turning his back.

V. 19. Just as Amarāvatī looked ever beautiful with Indra who was bowed to (*by all*), Ayōdhyā with the descendant of Raghu (*i.e.*, Rāmachandra), the lovely Mathurā with Gōvinda, Ujjayinī with Gutta and Hastināpura with the son of Marut (*i.e.*, Bhīmasēna), so also **Erambarāpura** attained much gracefulness with the Sinda chief **Chāvuṇḍa.**

V. 20. **Erambarāpura** shines greatly on the face of this charming earth with temples, numerous palaces containing groups of maidens, houses of gods on earth, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas, and of the hosts of Vaiśyas who resembled Kubēra (*in wealth*) and with the hermitages of ascetics in sacred groves of penance.

V. 21. There, **Fifty Families** of Telligas (*i.e.*, oilmen), endowed with pleasing virtues and possessing brilliant fame (*bright*) as white clouds, were like bees on the pure and full-blown lotuses, the two feet of Śiva.

V. 22. Further, the bright Earth is ever pleased with the deserving Fifty Families and praises them high saying " they are like the ocean capable of protecting the mountains, the refugees, like the intensely furious conflagration powerful enough to burn away the forests, the turbulent foes and chief villains, and like the handsome bees humming in the lotuses, the beautiful feet of Śambhu.

V. 23. Groups of (*their*) relatives extol with gestures of hands the Fifty Families so as to be well appreciated by the whole world saying, " They are worthy of praise by the good, avowedly truthful, armoured with piety and inestimable conduct, gladdened in their pure hearts at the innumerable delights of their wives and are ever busy in the worship of the lotus feet of gods and of *dvijas*".

Lines 36-38. The Fifty Families, thus praised, assembled and performed the installation of god **Telligēśvara** in **the north-east quarter of Erambarāpura** and also constructed a temple for the deity. To describe the succession in the family of the preceptor of **Chandramauḷidēva**, the *āchārya* of that temple :—

V. 24. There was an ornament of ascetics named **Vigrahēśvara** of much extolled intellect, who was greatly praised in (*his*) respectable family[1], an abode of refugees, and was known as Lakuḷīśa born in the Kali age.

V. 25. The meditator on his lotus feet was the righteous **Yōgēśvarayati** of blameless conduct, a bolt lifted up at the mountain, the Cupid, a sun to the lily of Lākuḷāgama (*i.e.*, works of the Lākuḷa sect).

Vv. 26 and 27. The disciple of that excellent *muni* was the best *yati* called **Chandramauḷi**, the sole resort of learned men, who has conquered the rising Kali ; his generosity surpassed the group of desire-yielding trees, his vow of (*subsisting on*) roots, the praiseworthy son of Vāyu (*i.e.*, Hanūmān), his truthfulness, the unblamable Satyatapa, his serenity, the ocean and his fame pervading the three worlds, the lustre of the moon.

Ll. 44-46. Hail ! When the victorious reign of the illustrious **Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaṇadēva**, an asylum of the whole world, Lord of Fortune and Earth, possessed of all the laudatory titles like *Mahārājadhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, a sun to the lotus of the **Kaḷachuriya family**, terrible in fight, was advancing in the course of continuously increasing prosperity as long as the sun and the moon last,

[1] *Manneya* may also be taken to mean a particular sub-division of the teacher's lineage.

Ll. 46-48. On **Monday**, the **new-moon day** of **Pushya**, which was the day of **Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁti** and **Vyatīpāta** in the cyclic year **Vyaya** corresponding to the **Śaka year 1088**, the **Fifty Families of Telligas** met together and granted the following income with the pouring of water to the glorious god **Telligēśvara** after laving the feet of **Chandramauḷidēva**, the *āchārya* of Siṁhēśvara-*maṭha*.

Ll. 44-52. Each family in Cantonment and Town (*should*) each day measure out two *soḷasa* of oil for an oilmill ; in the family (*maintaining*) the god's oil mill, oil measuring one *soḷasa* (*should be received*) ; five *vīsas* on an oil mill for (*the offering of*) *chaitra* and *pavitra* ; and five *vīsas* from every one of those that press the mill ; one *koḷaga* of *jwarry* per month from each family for conducting the feeding of people (*i.e.*, guests) that come to the *maṭha* ; one *mattar* of garden situated at................west of the path leading to Kallūru ; on the sacred occasion of *Dīpāvaḷi*, one *māna* of oil from each family (*should be received*).

Ll. 52-54. The income granted by the Five hundred *svāmins* in (*their*) storehouse : for every gold coin, one areca-nut from sellers and one from buyers ; one areca-nut from the counting officers each time (*they count*). The income granted by the dealers in betel-leaves : a hundred leaves for one cartload, a hundred for a bullock-load, fifty for a man's load and two shops in front of the temple.

B.

Verse 1. May the glorious and famous god Telligēśvara grant with kindness the prosperity of kingdom to the world-renowned **Bijjaladēva** and king **Vīra-Vikrama.**

V. 2. There were born to king **Chāvuṇḍa** of reputed virtues and to **Siridēvī** (*two*) sons namely, king **Bijjala** and king **Vīra-Vikrama** as if they were the (*two*) eyes or (*two*) goals of life (*of their parents*).

V. 3. Of them, the elder was prince **Bijjala**, a Cupid in form, a bee in the lotus feet of Śiva, with fame sung by all and an ocean of polity.

V. 4. King **Vīra-Bijjaṇa** trusted Śiva like Nambi and was like Ōhila, a devotee who did not observe any religious rites—what more—he was learned like Bāṇa.

V. 5. This prince **Vīra-Bijjala** of increasing fame, a shaft in the hearts of his foes and an expert, forsooth, in the sixty-four arts was the husband **of Tripurādēvī.**

V. 6. King **Vīra-Vikrama** looks majestic with fame extolled on earth .... as if **he was then the (proper) lord (*to bear*) the title of Chakravartin.**

V. 7. If (*the name of*) a tiger is taken (*to compare his valour with*) he would mock at it, he would............host of serpents, oppose in a fitting manner..............and cow down the Death God. O ! God !! **Vīra-Vikrama** is indeed a veritable warrior.

V. 8. Who, indeed, can survive..............(*after witnessing*) the force of the prowess of his arms ? Who does not shrink in power ? Who does not run away helpless after opposing (*him*) in battle ? Who does not tremble or be perturbed in mind and will not..............offer everything of his own ? What person is there that does not stretch his hands for the gifts of the renowned Vīra-Vikrama ?

V. 9. The powerful chief Vīra-Vikrama gives (*gifts*) to one that praises him ; protects if one seeks his shelter and is a beautiful swan to the lotus plant................dēvī who equalled Lakshmī.

Lines 10-12. Hail ! When the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Sāhasōttuṁga*, *Bhujabala*.... ....king..........**ladēva** and **Vīra-Vikramadēva**, possessed of all the laudatory *birudas*, were ruling in their capital Eraṁbarage, with the diversion of pleasant conversation, **Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Keḷavaḍi-300, Nareyaṁgal-12** and **Karividi-3[o].**

Ll. 12-16. On **Monday**, the auspicious day of **Saṁkrāṁti**, the **fourteenth day**........ ....in the cyclic year **Plavaṁga**, corresponding to the **Śaka year 1109, Bijjaladēva**

and **Vîra-Vikramadêva**..............granted at the request of the **Fifty Families** as *sarva-namasya*, with the pouring of water and with immunity from all claims, twelve *mattar* of land field by the pole (*measuring*) twenty-seven (?) spans, on the north of the land of god Jagatêś-vara, to god **Telligêśvara of Erambarage**, the fortunate town existing from times immemorial (*anâdi-paṭṭaṇa*), and at the request of **Muṁjaya-Sâhaṇi**, one *mattar* of paddy land to the west..................

No. 13.—DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA; [HARSHA—] SAMVAT 207.

By

R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription was found engraved on a large stone lying in a field at the village of **Ḍabôk,** eight miles to the east of Udaipur in Mewâr. It was removed to the Udaipur Museum by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha, and I edit it from the ink-impression, which he so kindly placed at my disposal.[1] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed it in this journal.[2]

The record contains fifteen lines of writing covering a space of about 3 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins. The average size of the letters is ¾ in. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, commonly known as *Kuṭila lipi*. They are almost similar to the Jodhpur Inscription[3] of Pratihâra Bâuka. Palæographically, the inscription is important, as the date given in it contains the letter-symbol of 200, which is worth noting. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and, excepting the two imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. In respect of **orthography,** the following points may be noted—consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *Durggâdêvyâ* (l. 4), *-mârgga* (l. 9), etc.; and before *r*, as in *-puttra* (l. 2), *kshêttraṁ* (l. 5), etc.; *s* is written for *ś*, as in °*svarasya* and *sâradya* (l. 4), and for *sh*, as in °*sêdhyô-* (l. 13), *=aṭavîsv=a-* (l. 14), etc.; the *anusvâra* is used for *n* in *asmiṁ-* (l. 1), *-chaṁdrârkka-* (l. 11), etc., and is redundant in *-vṛidhyarthaṁ* (l. 11), and *haraṁ-* (l. 15); *m* is written for *v* in *-nîmî* (l. 3), etc.; rules of *sandhi* are, as a rule, violated in almost all the lines. The *upadhmânîya* is used in *punar=âdadîta* (l. 14). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription is of the time of *Śrî*-**Dhavalappadêva**, who, as shown by the titles *Parama-bhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, appears to have been a paramount chief. The record is **dated in the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapada of the Saṁvat 207.** The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of some fields and, probably, shops, too, by Vaidya Gîyaka, son of Nâgadâman, a resident of Dhavagartâ (the present town of Dhôṛ in the Jahâzpur district of the Udaipur State) to the temples of the god Mahâmahêśvara and the goddess Durgâ called Ghaṭṭavâsinî.

As the era to which the year belongs has not been specified, the date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The characters, however, are of a period not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D. In consideration of this fact, the date can be referred to the Harsha era, in which several other inscriptions[4] of Râjputânâ are dated. In that case the date would correspond to Monday, the 8th August A.D. 813. The family to which Dhavalappadêva belonged is not mentioned in this inscription. From the Dhanôp inscription[5] of Chachcha, dated Saṁvat 1063

[1] The impression is not very clear. Consequently the reading is not free from doubt in several places.

[2] Above Vol. XII, p. 11.

[3] Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

[4] See *Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for 1916-17 and 1919-20, 4(*b*) I.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 174

(A.D. 1006), we know that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were ruling over Rājputānā in the eleventh century A.D. We also know from the Sirūr inscription[1] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I that Gōvindarāja III conquered Kērala, Mālava, Gurjara, etc., as far as Chitrakūṭa (Chitōr in Mewār). This would show that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan held their sway over some parts of Rājputānā in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Possibly the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Dhanōp, which is near Mewār, were related to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, and Dhavalappadēva may also have been related to them. His name seems to be of South-Indian[2] origin.

The epigraph under notice describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila, who then ruled over Dhavagartā (l. 2). The Chāṭsū inscription[3] of Bālāditya mentions a Dhanika as the son of Guhila. One Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the inscription[4] dated Saṁvat 887 (A.D. 830), recently discovered at Nāsūn in the Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwara, but, there, he is described as the father of Īśānabhaṭa. The Dhanika of the Chāṭsū inscription was the great-grandson of Īśānabhaṭa. Consequently there must have been two Dhanikas and two Īśānabhaṭas.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:—

After making an obeisance to the god Śiva and giving the date as the **eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the saṁvat 207** (200 in letter-symbol and 7 in figure), the first five lines state that, during the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī*-**Dhavalappadēva**, Vaidya **Gīyaka**, son of **Nāgadāman** of the *Kāyastha* family and an inhabitant of Dhavagartā, which was being ruled over by **Dhanika**, a Guhilot, made permanent endowments of some *śāradyagraishmika* fields (the fields that can be tilled in autumn as well as in summer) to two temples—one of Mahāmahēśvara established by him (Gīyaka) and the other of Durgādēvī previously established by Vaidya **Yaśōdēva.** Lines 4-5 inform us that the above fields were in the share or inheritance of Chachcha (probably one of the sons of the donor). In lines 5-10 are given the boundaries of the fields and of the two shops. Lines 10-11 tell us that the fields were granted for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents, as also for the repairs and maintenance of the above temples. In lines 12-13, the allotment of the fields and the share of their produce is made. The fifteenth or the last line tells us that the inscription was engraved by **Vṛiddhināga**, son of Vaidya **Gīyaka.**

TEXT.[5]

1 ओं[7] नमः शिवाय ॥ सं २०० ७ भाद्रपदशुदि ८ अस्मिंदि(स्मिन्दि)वसे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीव(ध)वलप्पदेवप्रवर्ध(र्द्ध)-

2 मानराज्ये । गुहिलपुत्राणां श्रीव(ध)निकस्योपभु[ज्य]मानायां व(ध)वगर्त्तायां वास्तव्यवैद्यगीयकनागदामपुत्रनैगम-

3 जात्य(त्यः) श्रीमहाशिवपौरसामान्यदेवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमी(वी) प्रयच्छति आत्मीयकारितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठापितस्य देवाधिदेवमहामहे-

[1] Above Vol. VII, p. 207.

[2] Names ending in *ppa* generally denote the names of persons of South India; for instance, *appa* (above, VI, 117), Tailappa (*ibid.*, III, 271), Dhōrappa (*ibid.*, II, 217), Dhāḍiyappa (*ibid.*, II, 217), etc. Such instances are rare in northern India. The name Dhavalappa also occurs in a grant of Kṛishṇa II (*ibid.*, I, 53), but he must be a different person.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, p. 14.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 22.

[5] From the impression.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

4 स्व(ख)रस्य । तथा च पु(पू)र्व्वंतरवैद्यश(शो)देवकारितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठा-
पिताया घट्टवासिनीनामश्रीदुर्गादेव्या अर्द्धांतं(तः) । आत्मीयस्ववीर्य्योत्पन्नो-
(न्ना) सारथद्रैभिकक्षेत्रादी[1]पूर्व्वभुज्य(क्त?)भुज्य-

5 माना अचाटभटप्रवेश्या [स्व]पुत्राणां श्रीचचदाया । ष(ध)वगर्त्तापु(पू)र्व्वत-
(तः) सा(शा)[र]थद्रै(ग्रै)भिकक्षेत्रं [।*] यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः [सा]-
बटक्षेत्रं वकटा च [।*] दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीयक्षेत्रं । पश्चिमत(तः)
पङ्कुण-

6 प्यकपाली । उत्तरत(तो) वर्त्मा(र्त्म) । तथा नागादित्यभटा(ट)स्य चाग्रते
(तः) शारथद्रै(ग्रै)भिकक्षेत्रं । पूर्व्वत(तो) ब्रह्मसोमबाउट[2]कक्षेत्रं वकटा
च ॥ दक्षिणत(तः) तटाकोदकं ॥ उत्तरत(तो) धर्म्मिकभवकक्षेत्रं ॥ तथा
ष(ध)वगर्त्ता

7 दक्षिणत(तो) वाछियालीनाम अरहि(ह)ट्टक्षेत्रं । पूर्व्वत(तो) गर्त्ता वर्त्मा
(र्त्म)च । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय[क्षे]त्रं । पश्चिमत(तः) पुष्कर(रि)-
णीपाली ॥ उत(त्त)रत(तो) वर्त्मा(र्त्म) ॥ तथा कर्कतटाक[3] चाग्रत[4]अरहट्ट-
क्षेत्रं [।*] पूर्व्वत(तो)

8 गर्त्ता । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय(या) अरहट्टकुल्ला(ल्या) । पश्चिमत(तो)
वकटा । उत्त(त्त)रत(तो) राजकीयक्षेत्रं । तथा अगारघट्टवकटाकस्य
पृष्टते(ष्ठतः) काश्यपीयक्षेत्रं । पूर्व्वत(तो) । विष्णुसोमक्षेत्रं । दक्षिणत(तः) पश्चि-

9 मत(तो) राजकीयक्षेत्रं । उत(त्त)रत(तो) गोम्मक्षेत्रं ॥ तथा हट्टमध्ये वीथी
द्वे दाक्षिणाभिमुखा(खे) ॥ पूर्व्वतो(तः) पश्चिमत(तः) [सा]उलवीथी । दक्षि-
णत(तो) हट्टमार्ग्ग(र्गः) । उत(त्त)रत(तः) प्रणा[ली] . . . . . ॥ एवं च-

10 तुराघाटनोपलक्षित्तं(तं) । तथापरमपि सा(शा)रथक्षेत्रादी(दि) यत्किमपि
तत्समस्तं(स्त)म[प] गुग्गुलदीपतैल्या(ला)र्थं खण्डस्फुटितसमारा(रो)पणार्थं च
मातापि(पि)त्रो[रात्मनश्च] पुण्य-

11 यशोभिवृध्य(द्ध्य)र्थं(र्थं)माचंद्रार्क्कार्णवपवनगगनक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनतया पुत्रपौ-
त्राद्यन्वयक्रमभोग्यतया च देवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमि(वि)काचारेण प्र[तिष्ठापि]-
ता(तं) ॥

12 अनाधेयविधया ।[5] मन्म(म)पुत्रपौत्रात्मजै(जैः) ग्रैभ्मिकक्षेत्रादी(दिः) समभविभा-
गेन क(क)प(र्प)णीया(यः) ॥ शा(शा)रथक्षेत्रादी(दिः) समद्रमीयकाण्डकुटकेन
क(क)प(र्प)णीया(यः) । द्वावपि . . . . चतु-

[1] Read आरथग्रैभ्मिकक्षेत्रादि°.
[2] 'उ' is written below the line.
[3] Read °तटाकस्य.
[4] Read चाग्रतोऽरहट्ट°.
[5] The stroke is redundant.

DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA; [HARSHA-] SAMVAT 207.



Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

SCALE : ONE-SIXTH.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

13 (द्रं)म्मी(मी)यको[1] [मासि] दातव्यो(व्य:) ॥ अपरक्षकै(कैः) यथोपरिलिखितभागो दातव्येति[2] ॥ म्म(म)दीयगोत्त(त्र)जैरन्यतरैर्व्वा कालान्तरेस्व(ष्व)पि न्न(न) के(कै)चि(श्चित्) प्रतिसे(षे)ध्यो [न च] . . . . . व्य(व्यः) । यानी-

14 ह संस्ना(सा)रभयात्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दना(ना)नि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्त-प्रतिमानि तानि [को नाम सा]धु ✕ पुनराददीत ।[।*][3] विंध्याटवीस्व(ष्व)-तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन(नः) [।*] कृष्णसर्प्पा[4]भि-

15 जायन्ते देवदायं हरं(र)न्ति ये[5] ॥ उत्कीर्ण्णेयं भिष:[6]गोयकसु(सू)नुना हरि-नागेन प्रस(श)स्तिरिति ॥

No. 14.—FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Rai Bahadur Hiralal.

Impressions of the four inscriptions, edited below, were forwarded to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, who received the plates from the Ruling Chief of Charkhārī State, Bundelkhand, Central India, through the Director General of Archæology in India. No details as to their provenance were available from the State office records. For the sake of convenience, I am here noticing the inscriptions in their chronological order.

A.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF DEVAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1108.

This charter is incised on a large **copper-plate**, 18¾" by 12⅜", with its corners rounded off and weighing 360½ *tolas*. The plate is surmounted by a copper-hook, 2¾" long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring 2⅝" in diameter. Just below this is carved the figure of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī** with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with raised trunk. Under her seat is inscribed the sign-manual *Śrīmad-Dēvavarmmadēvaḥ sva-hastaḥ* in two lines. The figure occupies a space, 4 inches long and 3 inches high, just in the middle of the first 6 lines. Each complete line is on the average 16" long.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī **characters**, their average size being ⅜". The **language** is Sanskrit. But there are numerous mistakes in spelling, *etc.*, some of which appear to be due to the oversight of the engraver. There is a palpable instance of the latter being influenced by local *patois*, *viz.*, the Bundelkhandi Hindī in which *jē* is still used for the Sanskrit *yē*, of which it is an exact equivalent. In line 21 the engraver had used the correct form but in the next line the more familiar vernacular word asserted itself. The **orthographical peculiarities** are similar to those which the late Dr. Kielhorn pointed out in editing another copper-plate charter of the same king issued a year before the present one.[7] The latter was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death, while the present record was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the religious benefit of himself and

[1] Probably this word is connected with *dramma*.

[2] Read व्य इति.

[3] Metre, *Indravajrā*.

[4] Read सर्पा ह्रि.

[5] Metre, *Anushṭubh*.

[6] Read भिषग्.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p 206.

his parents. The **date** of this record is **Saṁvat 1108 Mārgaśira śudi 15, Sōma-dina.**[1] On this day the **Chandēlla** king **Dēvavarmadēva, Lord of Kāliñjara,** meditating on the feet of Vijayapāladēva who meditated on the feet of Vidyādharadēva, offered water to the names of his ancestors, worshipped Śūlapāṇi or Śiva and gave the village **Bhūtapallikā,** situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the *vishaya* of **Nava-rāshṭra-maṇḍala,** to Paṇḍita **Kikkana** of the Kṛishṇātrēya-*gōtra* with 3 *pravaras* whose ancestors had emigrated from Kumbhaṭībhaṭagrāma. This Brāhmaṇa was ever ready to expound the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṁsā and was devoted to *shaṭ-karma* (*shaṭ-karm-ābhirata*), the prominent mention of which leads me to infer that he practised Yōga,[2] which is more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six[3] duties of a Brāhmaṇa.

The **localities** mentioned in this record have not yet been identified, excepting **Kāliñjara,** whence the record was issued, and the **Yamunā** river on whose bank the village of Bhūtapallikā was situated. Both of them, *viz.*, the fort of Kāliñjara and the river Yamunā or Jumnā are too well known to require identification. The mention of the latter indicates sufficiently the locality of the village and the district in which it was included. Dēvavarmadēva was the 12th king of the Chandēlla dynasty and, if this record shows anything in regard to his capital and extent of his dominions, it indicates that he lived in the Kāliñjara fort and that his *rāj* extended at least up to the Jumnā in the north. But almost the same conclusion is derivable from his other record referred to before and those of his predecessors, an account of which has been given by the late Dr. V. A. Smith in his exhaustive essay on the history and coinage of the Chandēlla dynasty.[4] But it may be noted here that in his zeal to show the great antiquity of the Chandēlla dynasty and its kingdom Jējākabhukti—the designation was later on changed to Jajhauti and taken as given after Jējāka or Jayaśakti, the third king of the line—he has fallen into a blunder, to which enthusiasts, howsoever great, are sometimes liable. In his article[5] he has attempted to prove that *Chih-chi-t'o*, visited and described by Yuan Chwang in 641 or 642 A.D., was no other than Jijhōti. This would mean that the country was named after a king, who was born about 200 years later, as according to him[6] Jējāka ascended the throne about 860 A.D.

TEXT.

1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र- श्रीविद्याधरदेवः(व)पादानुध्यातः(त) परमभट्टा-

2 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रः(र)श्रीमद्विजयपालदेवः(व)पादानु(नु)ध्यातः(त)पर- मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

3 परमेस्व(श्व)रः(र)श्रीकालंजराधिपतिः(ति)श्रीमद्देववर्म्मदेवः(व)पादानां मह्रो(ह्रा)- प्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स-

[1] This date is irregular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, V. S. 1108, Mārgaśira śu, 15 fell on Wednesday, the 20th November of A.D. 1051, with no lunar eclipse on that date. The date in V, S, 1109 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th December, A.D. 1052, when there was a lunar eclipse.

[2] The six *hatha-yōga* practices are:

Dhautir-bastī tathā nētī naulikī trātakas=tathā |
kapāla-bhātī ch=aitāni shaṭ-karmmāṇi samācharēt ||

[3] See Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary* under *shaṭ-karman.*

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 114 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 131. 'The kingdom was known as Jajāhūti (Jajāhōti, Jijhōti),

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

4 स्वत्सरसहस्रेके अष्टोत्तरशताधिके अंकतोपि ११०८ मार्गसिर(शीर्ष)सु(शु)दि
१५ सोमदिन(ने) [।*] अद्येह श्री-

5 कालिंजरात(त्) इत्यस्मिन्काले वर्त्तमाने सा(शा)सनदाता नास्नामव:(?)
एकाङ्ग[:*] सू(शू)द्रकेव(क इव) निसि(शि)तासिधारादा-

6 रितारिवर्ग: विस्नु(ष्णु)रिव सधरधरा(धराधर)कन्दरगुफा(हा)न्तरालयस(शो)ध-
वलितदिग्वधूवदनं(न:) व(ब)लिकर्ण्यि(र्णावि)व क-

7 नकगोधरादानविख्या(ख्या)ता(त)कीर्त्ति[:] युधिष्ठिरेव(र इव) सत्यसौ(शौ)चगुर्व्वि-
जदेवशुसू(श्रू)षारतर(तो)नङ्गमिव(इव) रूपसौभाग्ययुक्तं(क्त:) परकुलाङ्गनाव-
(ब)न्धु[:*]

8 मुनिरिव विदितात्मा काव्याल(लं)कारछन्द(न्दो)लष(च्च)णगुणगणाधिष्ठान(न:)
युगसमानर्दिसल्रिस्वा[1]न्दिजनसंकोर्णस(श)तद्दार(र:) निश्चा(र्या)सितत-

9 स्करादिभयंच(भयश्च)न्देलान्वय: परममाहेस्व(श्व)र: परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्व(श्व)र: श्रीमद्देववर्म्मदेव(वो) महासामन्तरा-

10 जपुत्रवन्दित:(त)पाद(द:) रंभागर्भोपम(मं) संसारमाकल्य(लय्य) तडित्चञ्चल-
वल्लक्ष्मी[2] ज्ञात्वा य(ज)लवुद्(बुद्)दोपम(मं) जीवितमिदं श्रुत्वा यौवनचांज-

11 लितुकमिव[3]स्थिरत्वं(श्च) सुचिरमपि वसि(उषि)त्वा नास्ति कामेषु तृप्ति[स्तु]
चिरमपि सुविचिन्त्य धर्म्ममे(ए)को हि साखाय(सखा) [।*] आ[यु]र्व्वर्षस(श)तं
नृणा(णां)

12 परिमित(तं) रात्रौ [त]दर्द्दा(र्द्धं) हृतं तस्यार्द्धस्य कदाचिदर्द्धमधिक(कं) वाह्निज्य-
(वार्द्धक्य)वाले(बाल्ये) म(ग)तं [।*] से(शे)षं व्याधिजराधियोगमरणै: सेवादिभि-
र्नीयते ॥[4]

13 जीवे वारितरङ्गचञ्चलतले:(तरे) सौख्यं कुत: प्राणिना(नाम्) ।[।२॥*][5] एवं
संसारधर्म्ममेको(कं) हि असा(शा)स्व(श्व)तं ज्ञात्वा दानमतिवके (?)
[स्व]भोगावा[प्त]-

14 नवराष्ट्रमण्डलविषये यमुनातटे भूतपल्लिकानामग्रामोय(यं) सोमातृणकाष्ठवो[6]पर्य-
न्तं(न्त:) श्रीदेववर्म्मन(वर्म्मणा) अद्य:(द्य) पौर्ण्णमास्यामद्याहे

15 कोटितीर्थे स्नात्वा पितृतर्पणं [च] कृत्वा श्रीसू(शू)लपाणिदेवमर्च्चं(र्च्च)यित्वा
यथाविधि च धु(हु)त्वा मातापितृचात्मन(पित्रोरात्मन)श्च पुन्य(ण्य)यसो(शो)
विद्धये[ति](इति) कुम्भटीभट-

16 ग्रामविनिर्म्मताय कृष्णात्रेयस्व(स)गोत्राय अत्रिअर्च्चनानससीवास(श्यावाश्वेति)[7]स्त्रि:-
(त्रि)प्रवराय वहृ(बाहृ)चसा(शा)खिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपण्डित-श्रीजयस्वामिपौत्राय
पण्डि-

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[1] Read °दर्भिलार्द्र° (?)

[2] Read तडिच्चञ्चला लक्ष्मी°

[3] Read यौवनं च दलाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुवद° (?)

[4] Strokes not required,

[5] Metre, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[6] Read °काष्ठगोचर°.

[7] See Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 197.

17 त:(त)श्रीसोमेस्क(श्व)रपुत्राय पंडित:(त)श्रीकिक्कन:(नाय) वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराण-मीमांसाव्या[ख्या]नतत्पराय षट्कर्म्माभिरताय व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय

18 श्राश्र(शास)नं[1] प्रदत्तं(त्तः) यथा दीयम(मा)नस्य भागभोगकरहिरन्य(ण्य)दण्डा-दायादिकुविताञ्चचितं(कमुचितानुचित)प्रभृतयस्तत्सर्व्वमस्योपनेतव्यं ॥ सर्व्वान्ये-(ने)तान्भ(न्भा)-

19 विनो(नः) पार्थिवेंद्रा[न्*] भूयो भूय:(यो) याचते रामभद्रः [।*] सामान्योयं-धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले २ पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[।२॥*] भूमी(मिं) यः प्रति-गृह्णा(ह्णा)ति ।[2] यश्च

20 भूमिं प्रयच्छा(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ ।[2] नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगा-मिनौ [॥३॥*] षष्ठि र्व्वर्षं(षष्टिं वर्षं)सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] श्र(श्रा)च्छेता(त्ता) चानु(नुम)न्ता व्व(च) तने(तान्ये)-

21 व नरक(के) वये(से)त(त्) ।[।४॥*] स्वदतां(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) [वा] ।[2] ये(यो) हरन्ति(हरेत) वसुन्धरां । स्वा(श्वा)नयोनिस(श)तं गत्वा ।[2] चाण्डालेष्व-भिजायते ।[।५॥*] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर-

22 वासिन: [।*] महसर्प्पाभिजायंते ।[2] जे(ये) हरन्ति रसुन्धरा[3] ।[।६॥*] वापी-कु(कू)पसहस्राणि ।[2] अश्वमेधस(श)तानि च [।*] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न

23 शुध्यति ॥[७॥*] मङ्गलं महाश्री: । अच्चपटलिकयशोभटेन लिखितं ॥

B.—CHARKHARI PLATES OF PARAMARDDIDEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1236.

These are **two copper-plates** having raised rims (⅜″ high) rivetted to them. Each plate weighs 180¾ *tolas*, but their sizes differ a little, the first measuring 14⅝″ by 11¼″ and the second 14½″ by 10⅝″. The former contains 18 lines of writing against 14 of the latter. On the first plate there is a figure of **Lakshmī** in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a round hole in the middle of the last line. In the second plate space was left for a hole, but it was never made and hence the plates were not strung together as was originally intended. The size of the letters in the first plate is ½″. They are smaller and more beautiful than those in the second plate, to cover the whole of which the engraver Pālhaṇa, a skilful artisan, as he calls himself, had had to raise the size to ⅝″. In the case of the Mahōbā plates of Saṁvat 1230,[4] I remarked how Pālhaṇa worked up his way from the position of a *pītalahāra* to that of a *vijñānin*, and this time, *i.e.*, six years later, he raised himself to the position of a *vaidagdhī-viśvakarman*[5] (l. 32). Despite this, there is hardly any improvement in his engraving. The fact remains that the

[1] Read शासनेन.

[2] *Daṇḍa* not required.

[3] Read वसुन्धरां.

[4] Above, Vol. XVI, p. 10.

[5] [The Ichchhāwar plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 208 ff., l. 35) also give this epithet.—Ed.]

letters *va*, *dha*, *cha* and *ra* have been so formed as to cause confusion with one another, for instance, in l. 4 *Paramarddidēvō* has been engraved as *Paramarddidērō*. *Ba* has not been at all distinguished from *va* and the symbol for the medial *u* has been sometimes so broadened as to give the appearance of a *ta*, *e.g.*, *bhūtvā* (l. 17). In the text letters or their parts are, in some cases, omitted in consequence of which the sense is also affected. The *anusvāra* and the *rēpha* have been in many cases omitted through sheer inattention, *cf. shaṭ-tri[ṁ*]śa°* (l. 8) and *Pṛithvīva[r*]mma°* (l. 3). On the whole the record is well written. The **language** is Sanskrit and the text is similar to the one found in other records of the same king. The composer of the record or rather the adopter of the prescribed form, with necessary changes, was one Śubhānaṁda Vāstavya, who was probably a relative of Pṛithvīdhara Vāstavya, the writer of some of the previous records of Paramarddidēva.

This charter was **issued from Vilāsapura** and records the grant of **Sagauḍō** village situated in the district of **Kirāyiḍa** to a number of Brāhmaṇas, whose forefathers had immigrated from Mutāutha-Bhaṭṭāgrahāra, by the *P. M. P. Paramamāhēśvara* **Paramarddidēva,** meditating on the feet of the *P. M. P.* Madanavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* Pṛithvīvarmadēva, descended from the heroes Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) lineage. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents on **Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the Vikrama-Saṁvat 1236**[1] which regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 27th March 1178 A.D.** The record does not supply any new information worth being mentioned and which is not given in the numerous inscriptions[2] of this king which have already been found. [It is interesting to observe here that in the gift-village exception was made of the five *halas* of land gifted to Buddha (l. 14) for that would show that a **Buddhist monastery** was in existence there and was endowed with that land.—Ed.]

Of the **localities** mentioned in it, **Kālañjara** is too well known to require identification. **Kirāyiḍa** may be **Kirāḍi,** 5 miles from **Mahōbā.** I have not been able to trace **Vilāsapura, Sagauḍō** and **Mutāutha** villages.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 [ओं] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्वलः ॥ [१॥*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमा-

2 ने विरोधिविजवि(य)भ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टा-रकमहाराजाधिरा-

3 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवम्म(र्म्म)देवपादानुध्यातपरममभट्टारकमहारजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-मदनवर्म्मदेवपा-

4 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्री-मत्परमर्द्दिदेरो(वो) विजयी ॥ स एष

[1] This must be taken as the current year.

[2] See above, Vol. I, p. 208, Vol. IV, pp. 157 ff., Vol. XVI, p. 9; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIX, p. 37, Vol. XXV, 206; Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74, 173, 174, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313.

5 दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापे(पि)तसकलरिपुकुल: कुलवध्व(धू)मिर(व) वसु(सु)न्धरामि-
राकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमते:(ति:) । किरायि-

6 डविषय:न्त:पातिसगौडोग्रामोपगतान्व्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्या(न्यां)श्च मान्यानधिकृता-
न्कुटुम्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्य-

7 न्तान्सर्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयते(ति) चा[स्तु]व: सम्विदितं यथोपरि-
लिखितोयं ग्राम: सजलस्थल: सस्थावरजङ्गम: साधऊर्द्धो भूतभ-

8 विष्यद्वत्त(र्त्त)मानानि:शेषादायसहित: प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिर्व्विलासपुरे
षड्वि(ड्विं)शदधिकशतद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे

9 सम्वत्सरे चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे श(स)मस्यान्तिथावङ्कतोपि स(सं)वत(त्) १२३६
चैत्रशुदि ७ भो(सो)मवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-

10 धिवत्स्नात्वा देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुर:सर(रं) चराचरगुरु(रुं) भगवन्त(न्तं)
भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा माता-

11 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये । सुतावथभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गतेभ्यो वत्सगोत्रेभ्यो
वत्सभार्ग्गवच्यवना-

12 प्रवानौर्व्वेया(जा)मदग्न्येतिपञ्चप्रवरेभ्योक्ष(भ्यश्छं)दोगशाखाध्यायि[भ्यो] नानाप्रपो[1]
पौत्रेभ्यो नामा(ना)पो[1](पौ)त्रेभ्यो नाना-

13 पुत्रेभ्यो नानानामशर्म्मभ्यो व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्य: कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्ति-
वाचनपूर्व्वञ्चन्द्रार्कसम-

14 काल(लं) पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि देवश्रीवी(बो)हसल.पञ्चहलानि व(ब)हि:क्ष(ष्व)स्व
से(शे)षभूमि: शासनीकृत्य प्रद-

15 त्ता । मध्ये ॥ नि । दावरपुत्र ति । सोमिकस्य पदद्वयम(म्) । ति ।
वाह्लेपुत्र ति । स्वपटस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । पापेपु-

16 त्र ति । रतनस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । सूह्लणपुत्र ति । सीढस्य पदमे-
कम(म्) । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्र(श्र)वणविधे-

17 ये(विधेयै)र्भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्मै(स्मै)[2] समुपनेतव्य(व्यं)
[।*] तदेनमस्या(स्य) सम(मं)दिरप्राका-

18 र(रं) सनिर्गमप्रवेश(शं) ससर्व्वाशनेक्षुकर्पासकुश(सु)मश(श)णाम्रमधूकादिभूरुह(हं)
सवनखनि-

[1] The letter पो is superfluous.

[2] [Plural ought to have been employed.—Ed.]

Second Plate.

19 निधानं सलोहलवणतृणप[र्ण्णा]खाकरं समृगवे(वि)हङ्ग[म]जलचरं सकारुकपंक-
वणिग(वणिग्)वास्तव्यं[1] स-

20 काग्वे(ष्ठे)ष्टिकापाषाणं सगोकुलमपरे(रै)रपिसीमान्त[र्ग]तैव्व(र्व्वै)स्तुभिः सहितं
सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुन्जा(ञ्जा)-

21 मामं(नस्य)[2] के(क)र्षता(तः)[2] कष(र्ष)यतो[2] दानाधानविक्रयम्वा कुर्व्वतो[2] न
केनाच(नचि)त्काचिद्वा(द् बा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्व(त्र) च राजरा-

22 जपुरुषाटविक[3]चाटादिभिः स्वंस्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेव्य(द्य)-
मनाहार्य्यञ्चेति

23 भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमित(ति) । उक्तञ्च ॥ शङ्खभद्राम(स)नं च्छत्रं
वराश्वा वरवारणाः । भू-

24 मिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरदंर(न्दर) ॥[२॥*] सौवर्णा यत्र प्रासा-
(सा)दा चा(खा)शार्द्दा(द्दा)रा[:*] स्वकामदाः । गन्धर्व्वा-

25 प्सरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[३॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छे(च्छ)ति । उभौ तो (तौ)

26 पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादि(दि)भिः । यस्य

27 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लं) ॥[५॥*] सर्व्वानेतान्भावि(वि)नः
पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते

28 रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी[यो] भव-
द्भिरिति[1] ॥(°द्भिः ॥ इति ॥)[६ ॥*] स्वहस्ता(स्तो)-

29 य(यं) महाराजश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवस्य मतम्मम ॥ विशदगुणगणो(णौ)घोग्रामवास्त-
व्यव(वं)-

30 [श्यो] विदितसकलशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानंदनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म्म-

31 लेखो स्फुटललितनिवेशि(शै)रक्षरि(रै)स्ताम्रपट्टम(म्) ॥[७॥*] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण
पाल्हणे-

32 न च सि(शि)ल्पिना । उत्कीर्णा वर्ण्णघटना वैदग्धीविश्व(श्व)कर्म्मणा
॥[८॥*] मङ्गलमहाश्रीः ॥

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[1] This expression appears to be new. Its exact implication is not understood. [Does it mean, "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants?" *Vāstavya* is applied to what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot.—Ed.]

[2] [Plural should be used.—Ed.]

[3] *Āṭavika* I took to be "wild tribes", see above, Vol. XVI, p. 14, n. 1, but it indicates a Government Officer, *viz.*, one in charge of the forest and wild tribes. This finds a mention even in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. See Dr. Shama Sastri's Sanskrit Text, p. 254.

C.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF VIRAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1311.

The present charter is the **earliest record** of the **Chandēlla** king **Vīravarmadēva** yet found. The **copper-plate** on which it is engraved measures 15⅛″ by 11⅜″ and weighs 230½ *tolas*. It has a raised rim, ½″ in height, rivetted with nails all round it. In the middle of the first six lines there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī,** holding lotus flowers in the two upper, and water pots in the two lower, hands. Over her head is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring, which is wanting. There are 19 lines of writing with well formed letters the size of which is ½″ on an average.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the **orthographical peculiarities** are the same as found in other Chandēlla records published before. The record is not free from spelling and other mistakes, but they are comparatively fewer than in other similar records of the family.

The charter was **issued from Vilāsapura** by the *P. M. P.* **Vīravarmadēva** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and the **Lord of Kālañjara,** son of the *P. M. P.* Trailōkyavarman, son of the *P. M. P.* Paramarddidēva, son of the *P. M. P.* Madanavarmadēva, descended from Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the famous heroes belonging to the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) lineage. It records the grant of **Ṭumuṭumā** village in the **Ḍāhī** *vishaya* to *Rāüta* **Abhi**, son of *Rāüta* Haripāla, son of *Rāüta* Jagadēva, son of *Rāüta* Dēvashamū of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* belonging to the family of Chandrēśvara, **on Āśvina śudi 8, Sōmavāra, Saṁvat 1311,** which regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 21st September 1254 A.D.** The grantee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in a tussle with **Dabhyuhaḍavarman in the battle of Sōndhī, as a recognition whereof** this grant appears to have been made in spite of the fact that the purpose has been recorded as one for increasing the religious merit of the grantor Vīravarmadēva and his parents. In the present case the grantee does not appear to have been a Brāhmaṇa, as the omission of his *pravaras* indicates. Moreover, the family name Chandrēśvara and the title Rāuta point to the same conclusion. Apparently Sōndhī is identical with Seondhā fort, now called Kanhārgaḍh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datia State, whence it took its name. It is stated in the State *Gazetteer* (Luard's, p. 129) that " Seondhā is certainly an old town as the remains of the earlier settlement can be traced close to the present town. It has been suggested as the Sarua fort taken by Mahmud of Gazni in 1018 when in pursuit of Chand Rai ". Our record refers to a battle a little more than a hundred years later, apparently between members of the same lineage, *viz.*, the Chandēllas, if the termination of the opponent's name Dabhyuhaḍavarman would indicate anything to that effect. It must have been a battle of some importance to have been referred to as *saṅgrāma* or war. That was the time of disturbance as Vīravarmadēva's grandfather Paramarddidēva had been defeated by Pṛithvīrāja Chāhamāna in 1182 A D. In fact the late Dr. V. A. Smith remarks that " the history of the Chandēlla dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of Parmāl (Paramarddidēva) and the capture of Kālañjara and Mahōbā by the Muhammadan invaders. Trailōkyavarman succeeded his father Parmāl as a local chieftain holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom and in due course was succeeded by Vīravarman and Bhōjavarman[1] ".

The other villages referred to in this record have not been traced yet.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.

TEXT.

1 ॥ ओं सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरसिरे(शिरो)धृतः ॥[1] चन्द्रात्रे(त्रे)यनरेन्द्राणां वंस(श)श्चंद्र इवोज्वलः ॥[१॥*]

2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभा(भ्रा)जिष्नु(ष्णु)जयस(श)क्तिविजयस(श)[क्त्या]दिवीराविर्भावभास्व(स्व)रे

3 परमभट्टार[क*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात्(त) ।[1] परम[भ*]ट्टारकम-

4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यात ।[1] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

5 परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीत्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात ।[1] परमभट्टारकमहा-

6 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिमहाराजश्री(श्री)मद्वी-

7 रवर्म्मदेवो विजयी [।*] स एष दुर्वि(र्वि)षहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव निराकुलां वसुं-

8 धरां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ॥ डाङ्गीविषयान्तःप[ा*]तिटु-मुटुमाग्रामोपगता-

9 न(न्) वा(ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यान(न्) कुटं‌वि(बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमेदचाण्डाल-पय(र्य)न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालोकान्संवो(बो)ध-

10 यति समाजा(ज्ञा)पयति च अस्तु वः स(सं)विदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजल[स्थ]ल[:*] सस्थावरजंगमः

11 स्वसीमावच्छिन्न(न्नः) साधऊर्द्धो(भूद्ध(तभ)विष्यतव(द्व)र्तमाननिःसे(शे)षादाय-सहितः प्रतिषिद्धश्चा(चा)टादिप्रवेस(श)श्चास्माभिः श्री-

12 विलासपुरे संवत(त्) १३११ आश्विनशुदि ८ सोमवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन स्नात्वा भास्करपूजापुर(रः)सरं मातापित्रोरा-

13 त्मनः पुण्ययशोविवर्द्धये(द्धये) ।[1] व(चं)द्रेश्वरान्वये क[ा*] स्य(श्य)पगोत्राय राउतदेवषमूप्रपौत्राय राउतजगदेवपौत्राय राउतहरि-

14 पालपुत्राय सोंधीसंग्रामे दभ्युहडवर्म्मयुद्धे कृतवोर्यातिस(श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राउत-षभिनाम्ने शासनीक(कृ)त्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा

15 भवद्भिराज्ञा(ज्ञा)श्रव[ण*]विधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै[2] समुपनेतव्यं तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिरप्राकारं सनि[र्ग]मप्र-

16 वेसं(शं) [स*]वाह्या(बाह्या)भ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य वा(बा)धा केनापि न कार्या । अत्र च । राजराजपुरुषादिभिः स्वंस्वमाभाव्य(व्यं) परिहा(ह)-र्त्तव्यमि-

[1] *Danda* not required.

17 दं चास्मत(द्)दानमनाहार्यं चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालै: पालनीयं । उक्तं
च । शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा(श्वा) वरवारणा: । भूमिदा-

18 न[स्य] पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग: पुरंदर ।[।२॥*] भूमिं य: प्रतिग्टन्हा(ह्णा)ति
यश्व(श्च) भूमिं प्रयछ(च्छ)ति [।*] उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नियतौ
स्वर्ग्गगामि-

19 नौ । [।३॥*] ममवंशेत्पतिक्षोणे कोपि राजा भविष्यति [।*] तस्य
दासस्य दासोहं मम की[र्त्ति]र्ण(र्त्तिं न) लोपयेत(त्) ॥[४॥*] सुभ(शुभं)
भवतु ॥

D.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF HAMMIRAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1346.

This is the **first copper-plate** charter of the **Chandēlla** king **Hammīravarmadēva,** whom I brought to notice, a decade ago, in my *Damoh Dīpaka*, the Hindī *Gazetteer* of the Damoh district in the Central Provinces, from a *satī* record which I found in the village Bamhni of that district.[1] When I visited the Ajayagaḍh fort, I came upon another *satī* stone record[2] mentioning his name, which I included in the new account[3] of the Ajayagaḍh fort inscriptions revised since the visit of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as detailed in his *Survey Report*, Vol. XXI. It appears to me that the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces, in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandēllas, is included, derives its name from this Chandēlla king. Of course, this district which borders on the Charkhārī State, took its name from the town of Hamirpur, which is situated on the confluence of the Jumnā and the Betwā, 110 miles north-west of Allahābād.

The record is engraved on a **copper-plate** 11¼" long and 8¾" broad, with a raised rim ⅛" in height running all round the plate and secured on the latter by nails. Its weight is 48 *tolas* only. In the middle of the first four lines of writing there is a figure of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī** holding lotuses and water pots. On the top of the figure there is a hole for a ring which was either not put in or has been taken off and lost. The plate shows signs of corroding without serious damage to letters, which are rather small, their average size being ⅛". The engraving is badly executed.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, the style being in the prescribed form used by the Chandēllas ; but, from what little the writer composed, it is clear that he was no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes. The insertion of the title *Sāhi* against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence, which finally ousted the Chandēllas, apparently during the reign of the grantor of this very charter. **Hammīravarmadēva,** who styled himself as the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Sāhi Rāj*.

[1] See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

[2] The record runs as follows :—

L. 1. संवत(त्) १३६८ समये श्रावणसुदि ६ बुधे

L. 2. सती बालसुभद्र सेने सा सुभै श्रीमहा-

L. 3. राजश्रीहमीरवर्म्मदेवराज्यै सुभौ मंग-

L. 4. लं करोति

[3] Contributed to *Mādhurī*, a Hindī Journal of Lucknow, see Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

āvali-tray-ōpēta,[1] **Lord of Kālañjara**, meditating on the feet of the *P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja* Vīravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja* Trailōkyavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja* Paramarddidēva, announced the grant of **Kō(or Kī ?)kaḍagrāma** in the **Vēdēsaitha**-*vishaya* to two Brāhmaṇas who were apparently brothers, **on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada** and the **Pushya-nakshatra in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1346**, corresponding to **Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A.D.**[2] It will be noticed that in his own case Hammīravarmadēva has left out the grandiloquent title of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, which he duly attached to his elders. This indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the *Mahārāja* while his elder brother Bhōjavarmadēva was on the throne. In the Ajayagaḍh fort there is a *satī* record of Saṁvat 1346, which refers to the reign of Bhōjavarman.[3] This copper-plate dated in the same year would therefore point to a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhōjavarman died in the same year before the month of Bhādrapada, when the grant under publication was made.

The document was written by Paṁ[ḍita*] Rauṁ(Rāma)pāla.

The **localities** mentioned in the record are not traceable.

TEXT.

1 [ओं] सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याल्हा(ह्ला)दयन्विश्वं विश्वस्वर(श्व)रशिरोधृतः [।*] चे(चं)द्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंशस्चं(श्चं)द्र

2 स्योज्वल(लः) ।[।१॥*] तत्रे(त्र) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्नु(ष्णु)जयश-क्तिविजयस(श)क्त्यादिरी(वी)रावे(वि)-

3 र्भाव(र्भाव)भास्वर:(रे) ।[4] परमभट्टारे(र)कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपर[म]-माहेस्वरे(श्वर)मा(सा)हि-

4 महाराज[श्री]मसन(मत्पर)मर्द्दि[दे]वपादानुध्यात्(त) ।[4] परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-धिराज पर-

5 मेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेसरे(श्वर)साहिर(म)हाराजश्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात ॥[4] परम[भ]ट्टारक[म]हारा-

6 जाधिराजपरतेस्व(मेश्व)रपरममाहेस्वरे(श्वर)साहिमहाराजश्रीमद्वीरवर्म्मद(दे)वपादा-नुध्यात्(त) ॥[4] परमभट्टार-

7 के(क)साहिराजाप(व)लीत्रभो(यो)पेतकाल(लं)जरा[धिप]तिमहाराजश्रीमह(ह)मी-रवर्म्म[देवो] विजय(यी) । स एख(ष) रु(दु)र्व्विषह-

[1] This is exactly the title used in the Bamhni *sati* record which I misread as परमभट्टारकैषाधिराजावलीत्रयोपेत. See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

[2] In Bhādrapada of V.S. 1346, ba. 12 commenced on Sunday at ·98 but the *nakshatra* Pushya ended on that day at ·23.

[3] See *Mādhuri*, Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

[4] Punctuation unnecessary.

8 तरप्रतापतावि(पि)तग्र(स)कलरि[पु]कुल(लः) कुवलयभूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुलां व(प)रिप।लयन(न्न)विकलविवेकनि-

9 र्स(र्म)लोह(ला)तमतिसा(र)भाभिः ॥[1] वेदेस्थविषयान्त(न्तः)पातिः(ति)कोकडग्राम-गतान्वाह्मणान्यांश(ग्रामोपगतान्ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्च) मानकुटुंबि-

10 कायस्थनापितमहरनेदधीवरचांडालप्रजन्तान्सं(मानकुटुम्बिकायस्थनापितमहरमेदधी-वरचाण्डालपर्यन्तान्स)वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च । व(य)स्तु वः संविदितं यथा(थो)-

11 प'रलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थल(लः) सस्थाय(व)रजंगमम(जंगमः) ससोरा-(स्वसीमा)वक्षिन्न(च्छिन्नः) साधऊर्द्धभूतभविष्यवर्त्तमा-

12 ना(न)नि(निः)[शेषादायसहितः*] र(प्र)ति[षि]द्धचाटादिक[प्रवेशः*] लोणागर-पसणरधभूरुहनिधिनिषेप(लवणाकरपाषाणवनभूरुहनिधिनिक्षेप)[सहितः*] स-[वा](बा)ह्याभ्यन्तर(रः) अपरै[रपि] व[स्तु]भि[ः*] ।

13 संवत(त्) १३४६ समये ॥[1] भार(द्र)पदप(व)दि १२ रवौ ।[1] पुष्यनक्षत्रे ॥[1] भार्द्वा(रद्वा)जगोत्रा[य] ।[1] ठ[1] ।[1] सुभराजप्रपौत्राय ठ ।[2] वि[द्या-

14 ध]रप्र[3]पौत्राय ।[1] ठ[2] ।[1] सठेलपुत्राय ।[1] पं ।[1] श्रीधर ।[1] पं ।[1] उभे (उभाभ्यां) त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाभ्यां को(or को)कडग्रामो . . . तोऽस्माभो (स्माभिः ?) विज्ञा-

15 वड ? वाराख्या० ? वाषालि . . संकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त[इ]ति । इति मत्वा मन्य(भवद्भि)राज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भाग-

16 भोगादिकं समुपनेतव्यं ॥ वहु(बहु)भिर्व्वसुधां(धा) भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं(मि)त(स्त)-

17 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ षष्टि(षष्टिं) वर्षमहपा(सहस्रा)णि स्वर्ये(र्गे) वसति भूमिदः [।*] आक्षेता(आच्छेत्ता) वानुमन्ता च तानेव (तान्येव) न-

18 रकं व्रजेत् ॥२॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्व(त व)सु(सुं)धरां [।*] म(स) विष्ठावा(यां) क्र(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥३[॥*]

19 भूमिं ष:(यः) प्रतिग्टह्णीयात्यस्तु(प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु) भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्माणौ नियतौ स्वग्र(र्गं)गामिनौ ॥४।[।*] पं रों-

20 पाले[न] लिखितमिति ॥

[1] Punctuation unnecessary.

[2] Abbreviation for Ṭhākura or Ṭhakkura.

[3] Omit ष.

Charkhari Plate of Hamiravarmadeva, [Vikrama-] Samvat 1346.

SCALE THREE-FOURTH

Hirananda Sastri

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[1] My assistant Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., has rendered immense help in checking this Index.

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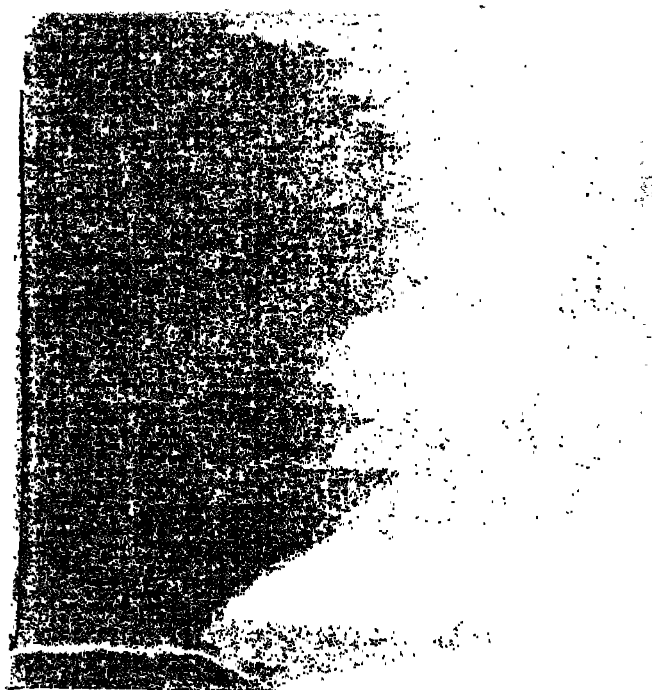
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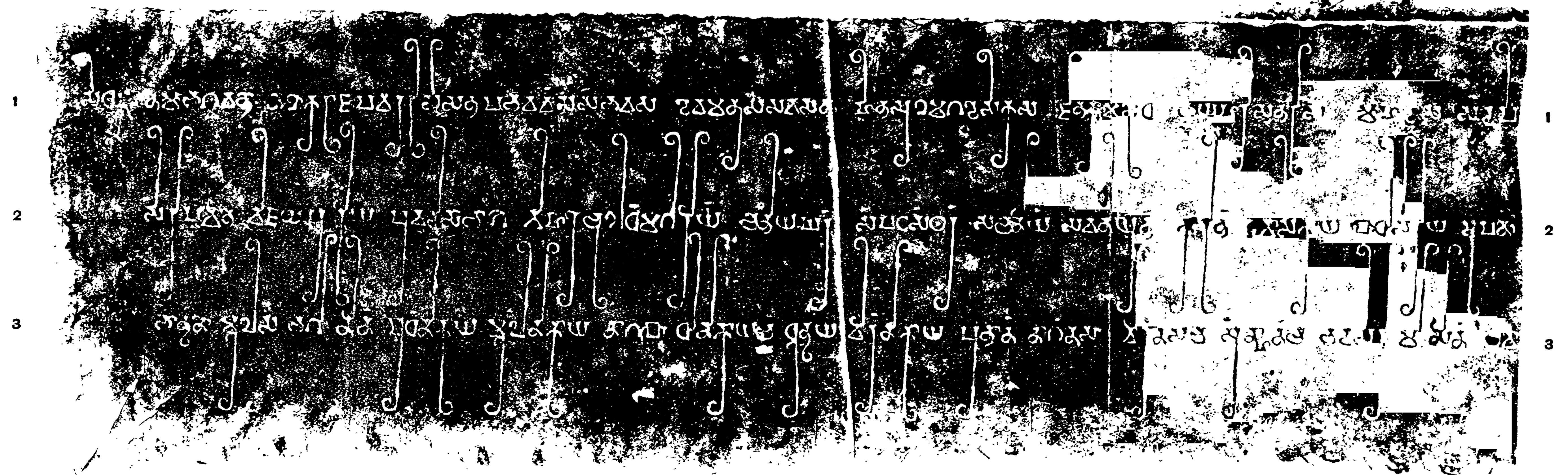
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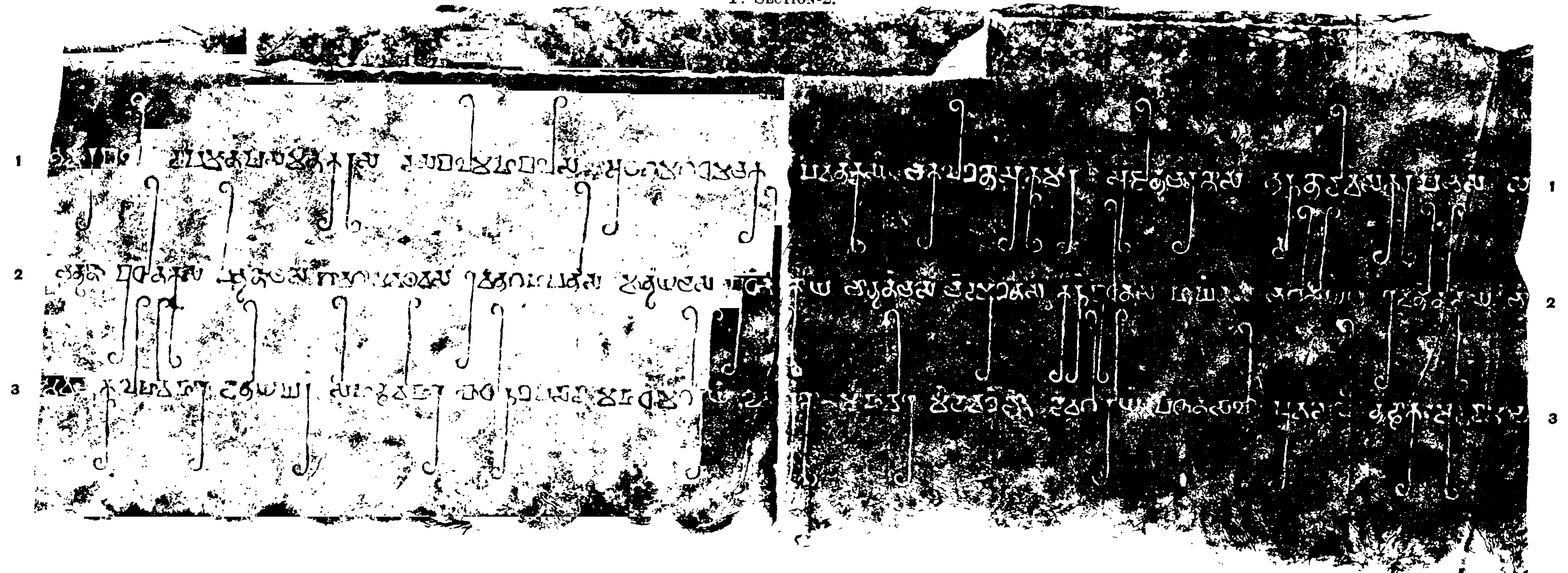




F. SECTION-1.



F. SECTION-2.



F Section-3.

F. Section-4.




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